The University of Texas
Institute of Latin-American Studies

Latin-American Studies, V

Some Educational and Anthropological Aspects of Latin America

Papers Read in a Lecture Series Dealing with Some Educational and Anthropological Aspects of Latin America

Sponsored by the Institute of Latin-American Studies of The University of Texas

Austin, Texas, Spring Semester, 1947

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS PRESS
AUSTIN
1948

F
1401
T45
v.5

The Woman's College of
The University of North Carolina
LIBRARY

F
1401
T45
v. 5

Date Due

20 Apr '55
17 Oct '57
11 Apr 59
'5 Mar '60
25 Jun '60
Jan '64
3 Aug '65
11 Mar 66
25 Jan '67
MAR 2 '73
DEC 18 '73
FEB 14 '74

The University of Texas
Institute of Latin-American Studies

Latin-American Studies, V

Some Educational and Anthropological Aspects of Latin America

Papers Read in a Lecture Series Dealing with Some Educational and Anthropological Aspects of Latin America

Sponsored by the Institute of Latin-American Studies of The University of Texas

Austin, Texas, Spring Semester, 1947

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS PRESS
AUSTIN
1948

F
1401
T45
v.5

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/latin-america-studies_1948_5

FOREWORD

The Institute of Latin-American Studies of The University of Texas continues with this publication, under the general title of *Latin-American Studies*, a series of monographs and volumes in the Latin-American field, including proceedings of conferences sponsored by the Institute of Latin-American Studies.

Publications of the Institute of Latin-American Studies of The University of Texas appear in the following series:

Occasional Series

I—*Some Educational Problems in Peru* by Max. H. Miñano-García

II—*Address* by Charles H. Stevens

Latin-American Studies

I—*Intellectual Trends in Latin America*

II—*Some Economic Aspects of Postwar Inter-American Relations*

III—*Pedro de Valdivia, Conquistador of Chile* by Ida Stevenson Weldon Vernon

IV—*The Inca Concept of Sovereignty and the Spanish Administration in Peru* by Charles Gibson

149217

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

Sarmiento, The Educator 7
Harold Benjamin, Dean, College of Education, University of Maryland.

Education in Latin America 17
I. L. Kandel, Professor Emeritus of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University.

New Molds for Latin-American Youth 27
Ernesto Galarza, Former Chief, Division of Labor and Social Information, Pan American Union.

The Individual's Role in the Pan American Program 38
Erna Fergusson, Writer and Lecturer on Latin America.

The Present Indian Population of Latin America 48
Donald D. Brand, Former Professor of Anthropogeography, The University of New Mexico; Professor of Geography, The University of Michigan.

Art Styles in Prehistoric Peru 56
Alfred L. Kroeber, Professor of Anthropology, The University of California.

Civilizing the Chichimecs: A Chapter in the Culture History of Ancient Mexico 80
Paul Kirchhoff, Professor, Escuela Nacional de Antropología, Mexico, D. F.

SARMIENTO, THE EDUCATOR

HAROLD BENJAMIN

Dean, College of Education, University of Maryland

Certain great men have had the curious fortune of being overshadowed—not by their competitors, but by themselves. That is to say, their popular fame has rested upon a few dramatic phases of their history to such an extent that the true character of their genius has been distorted and hidden by the luster of their minor talents.

Thus, for example, the brilliant strategic and tactical capacity of one of the most distinguished soldiers ever to lead an American army into battle, General George Washington, has been quite consistently underestimated because his countrymen have regarded him primarily as the statesmanlike founder of a nation. In similar fashion, one of the very greatest American names in the history of science, that of Benjamin Franklin, has struggled for adequate recognition under the handicap of being also the name of a famous writer, publisher, civic leader, diplomat, and statesman. So, too, Robert E. Lee's real eminence in educational administration, as amply demonstrated in his superintendency of the United States Military Academy and in his presidency of the institution now known as Washington and Lee College, can hardly be discerned through the glare enveloping the renowned and beloved leader of Confederate armies.

This is the kind of self-competition which the memory of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento has had to face. Here was a man who was without doubt the greatest educator of his continent and one of the most distinguished educators of his century on any continent. He was pre-eminent in educational organization, curriculum construction, and teacher education. He was a pioneer in the fields of teaching method, educational journalism, and comparative education. But, unfortunately for his educational fame, he was also a clever newspaperman, a colorful revolutionist, a competent novelist, a rugged fighter in press, forum, or battlefield, diplomat for two countries, governor, senator, and president of his native land.

The soldier, the writer, the politician, and the revolutionist who was Sarmiento could never effectively disguise the great schoolmaster of the Andes, however. When he died at the age of seventy-seven, the national colors of great republics came fluttering to half-mast for the eminent statesman, the bells of magnificent cathedrals and humble village churches alike sounded the grief of a continent for a famous leader, and long artillery columns rumbled with escort of tramping infantry and clattering cavalry in honor of a gallant soldier. But the most impressive homage came in simple places and in simple fashion for the less spectacular yet

greater achievements upon which the man's fame would finally rest. Over the desks of rural schools, across university lecture halls, in the offices of newspapers and journals, white-haired men whose profession was to serve *la cultura* spoke to their pupils and students and younger colleagues of the daring and inspired teacher who had fought for *la cultura* with every weapon at his command.

Sarmiento became a teacher by the combined pressure of family tradition and of revolutionary events. When he was born in the western town of San Juan de la Frontera on February 15, 1811, the May Revolution of the Río de la Plata patriots was only nine months past. He entered the newly-established revolutionary School of the Fatherland at the age of five in 1816, the year of the Declaration of Independence by the Congress of Tucumán. He taught his first class in a rural school when he was barely fifteen in 1826, a year in which liberal ideas of the kind Don Bernardino Rivadavia had fostered were being engulfed in a rising tide of barbarism. His first employment in exile in Chile at the age of twenty was as teacher of a village school. Thereafter, throughout his life, at home or in exile, in war or in peace, as professor, writer, revolutionist, and public administrator, he never ceased to pursue his true profession or forgot that he was first, last, and always a teacher.

If Sarmiento had been born a few years earlier, his desire to learn and to teach might well have led him into the service of the Church. He came from a family which, though well acquainted with poverty and illiteracy, had many distinguished sons in both the regular and the secular clergy. Two of his uncles were bishops, and another uncle was the famous friar, Justo de Santa María de Oro, delegate to the Congress of Tucumán, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and final wrecker of that Congress by his insistence that the new union's form of government should not be decided without a referendum vote of all the people in the provinces concerned.

It took a revolution and a revolutionary education to make a fighting schoolmaster of the boy who might otherwise have become a priest. Very little of his education was formal schooling, yet that schooling itself was of revolutionary character for its times.

The *Escuela de la Patria* was a progressive school established by the efforts of the energetic and liberal lieutenant governor of the province of San Juan, Don José Ignacio de la Rosa y Torres, who had been educated at Córdoba, had taken his doctorate in laws at Santiago de Chile, and who had resided in Buenos Aires for ten years. The school's first director was Don Ignacio Rodríguez who believed that his prime professional task was to be defined in terms of a certain kind of citizen for a certain kind of society and not in terms of any subject matter or other academic instruments whatever. He held that it was his duty to provide the best possible learning environment for the development of intelligent and loyal members of the new fatherland.

This creed led Rodríguez and his two brothers, who constituted the staff of the school, into various pedagogical heresies. In the first place, all the three hundred children in the school were regarded as social equals and were required to address one another accordingly. There was no exception to this rule, even for the sons of Negro slaves. Black or white, Indian or half-breed, pupil or teacher, when one citizen of the school spoke to another he addressed him as *Señor* and *Usted.*

In the second place, the Rodríguez brothers flatly rejected severe and humiliating punishments. In the class schools of the old Royalist regime, it was no doubt bad enough to break a child's spirit, but after all, if he was destined to cringe before tyrants, perhaps he had to have his spirit broken. In the *Escuela de la Patria,* however, this was unthinkable. Free men could not be developed with blows. Intelligent citizens could not learn to think for themselves in an atmosphere of intellectual servility. The coming masters of community and national destinies could not be whipped like slaves.

The doctrine of democratic equality in the Rodríguez school did not mean, however, that one citizen of the school was unable to advance beyond another. On the contrary, a spirit of healthy emulation and competition was held to be a central element of institutional and individual morale. The pupils were divided into groups in various matches and races, and individuals were rated even to the extent of designating the best scholar as *First Citizen of the Fatherland School.*

Young Domingo Sarmiento won the chair of the *First Citizen* but soon lost it in intellectual combat with another Señor. In spite of undoubtedly superior abilities, Domingo was hardly a model pupil. Suffering from occasional boredom, he engaged in sly deviltries of the age-old schoolboy variety when the teacher's back was turned. But sometimes Don Ignacio only seemed to have his back turned—he was no callow recruit to the ranks of pedagogy. Given his humane and intelligent system of discipline, moreover, he had to assign what he regarded as "natural" penalties for misbehavior. Since there was in his school an elaborate set of awards and distinctions for approved behavior, he conceived the proper penalty for disapproved acts to be a denial of awards. Thus young Domingo lost various rankings in the scholastic line-up and even sank to the depths of not being allowed to wear a silver medal of academic honor to which he was entitled by his erudition, had that quality not been unhappily tarnished by anti-social conduct.

The School of the Fatherland was destined to furnish the only formal education Domingo Sarmiento was ever to enjoy. When he was ten years old, his father decided he should be given secondary education. Hearing of a possible scholarship in the Loreto Seminary at Córdoba, he made the long trip with his son on horseback to apply for entrance only to find that there was no scholarship, at least for the son of a muleteer. When Domingo was twelve, he applied for one of the six places to be awarded to boys from the province of San Juan for study in Buenos Aires under

grants from the Rivadavia government. His name was first on the list of candidates recommended by his school, but under political pressure the provincial authorities finally resorted to the drawing of lots for the final selection, and young Domingo's name remained at the bottom of the hat. A few months later four more scholarships were allotted to San Juan, but again Domingo was unlucky. Then, four years later, when the boy was sixteen years old and had already done his first teaching, there came a final chance at secondary education. A new governor, Don José Antonio Sánchez, offered to send the boy at the expense of the provincial government to the *Colegio de Ciencias Morales* in Buenos Aires. The elder Sarmiento rode into the country to get his son for this great opportunity. They had hardly reached San Juan when the lances of Facundo Quiroga appeared over the horizon from La Rioja. The Unionist government of San Juan came to a sudden end and with it the prospects of a new student for the *Colegio de Ciencias Morales.*

Thus the boy, Sarmiento, was forced into self-education, and he went at the task doggedly and brilliantly. As clerk in a store in San Juan, as soldier in the field, as laborer in the mines of Chanarcillo in Chile, and even as prisoner in jail and guardhouse, he studied and taught to the best of his ability. He read biography, history, literary criticism, natural science, whatever books he could lay hands upon. He learned French and English. He wrote voluminously. Always he tried to pass to others that which he had learned.

The foundation of the great schoolmaster's first outstanding contribution to educational theory and practice was thereby laid. Like other men of high ability who have educated themselves under the scourge of their own intellectual ambitions, he acquired very early a profound sense of the unity of all learning and a profound conviction that education could be evalued only in terms of the total personality developed through the process of learning. From that day in his twentieth year when he lost his teaching position at the municipal school of Los Andes, Chile, on account of his radical educational ideas, to the time a half century later when as ex-president of Argentina he accepted the job of National Superintendent General of Education for the Republic, he believed in "new" methods because he felt that the traditional ones were not based on a workable educational philosophy. He had, too, the brilliant self-educated man's confidence in his own interpretation of the correctness of his methods, a confidence which carried him through a lifetime of educational innovation.

Sarmiento really began his double task of expounding and practicing his educational theories in 1839, at the age of twenty-eight, when he opened the College of Santa Rosa in his native city of San Juan. As first director of this school for young women and girls, he made his initial public statement of his theory of education as a process of growth and development, and of teaching as the provision of optimum conditions therefor. With a staff of five teachers, including three of his sisters, he proceeded to demonstrate his theory in practice. The curriculum, which included, in addition

to the usual subjects of reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, and religion, the more "advanced" studies of geography, manual arts, drawing, music, French, and Italian, and the methods of instruction, which called, in unusual manner, for the exercise of initiative and responsibility by the pupils, would probably have been sufficient in time to have excited the suspicion of the more conservative elements of the population had not Sarmiento's concurrent literary efforts excited them even sooner.

The new school had been opened on July 9. On July 20 there appeared the first issue of a new weekly journal, *El Zonda*, edited and largely written by Sarmiento. This publication had been authorized by the governor on condition that it avoid political subjects. This was something the editor could not do. Non-political articles on public education, mining, and literature were accompanied by an article of caustic criticism of various local customs which appeared to the governor to be political in object if not in form. In the resulting argument, the young schoolmaster-editor eventually landed in jail, and within a year was once more in exile in Chile.

It was in Chile that Sarmiento developed and practiced his fundamental educational ideas. He began in 1841, at the age of thirty, by publishing in *El Mercurio* of Santiago an article on the Battle of Chacabuco which attracted wide and favorable notice and earned him a steady job on that important newspaper with the assignment of writing three or four editorials each week. He began with a piece on public instruction. *El Mercurio* received a government subsidy and was the semiofficial organ of the ruling political party. One of the most prominent leaders of that party, Don Manuel Montt, was the recently-appointed Minister of Public Instruction. He was much impressed by Sarmiento's writings on educational topics and political questions and secured the Argentine emigre's appointment as editor of a new political sheet called *El Nacional* which appeared as campaign literature from April to July, 1841.

This was the beginning of a life-long friendship between two great men, the Chilean, Montt, and the Argentinian, Sarmiento. When the young Minister of Public Instruction established in January, 1842, the first Chilean Normal School which was also the first normal school in Latin America, he appointed the young schoolmaster from San Juan de la Frontera its first director.

La Escuela Normal de Preceptores de Chile was a small school with a maximum enrollment of only forty-two students in the first three years of its existence and with only one member of the faculty besides the director, but it gave Sarmiento a chance to develop his educational ideas in the training of teachers. He taught reading, grammar, geography, arithmetic, and "cosmography," demonstrating from the first his distrust of commonly accepted educational notions by refusing to use any of the standard grammars of the day and by introducing the syllabic method of teaching reading in place of the usual alphabet method.

The University of Chile, which was established by law in 1842 and which opened its doors for instruction in 1843, included Sarmiento in its Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities. At the first session of that faculty, the young schoolmaster-editor presented a paper on his ideas of a reformed spelling of the Spanish language. In this he developed the thesis which he had already expounded at length in his editorials and in his normal school classes that popular standards of pronunciaton rather than etymological considerations should decide how a word should be spelled. The faculty, after a number of heated sessions, adopted his proposals in part and thus inaugurated a definite movement toward more phonetic spelling of the language.

At this time Sarmiento began the most intense educational efforts of his career. He wrote books for teachers on methods of teaching reading, grammar, and spelling. He helped found a secondary school which was so advanced in its methods for its times that parents withdrew their children at the end of two years. At the same time he redoubled his efforts in journalism which took on for him, more and more, the character of an educational instrument. He converted the press into a battering ram of continent-wide public opinion which made the tyrant, Rosas, in Buenos Aires first contemptuous, then irritated, and finally mad with rage that a scribbling schoolmaster could be so dangerous.

This period of Sarmiento's educational career culminated in 1845 with the event which made the country school teacher one of the great pioneers of comparative education. His friend, Montt, secured for him a commission to study European systems of public education for two years and a substantial grant from the Chilean government to cover his expenses.

Sarmiento's two-year journey took him to France, Spain, Italy, Germany, England, and the United States. In each of these countries he observed mainly schools and the industry, agriculture, politics, religion, and general life of the people *as they related to schools*. He seemed to be groping for measurements of national educational character, for methods of judging the worth of national systems of education, and for hallmarks of educational excellence. He found some of them in Europe, particularly in France. Whether it was because he had matured his ideas by the time he arrived in the United States, or whether it was because he was himself an American and so more disposed to understand and appreciate an American educational experiment, his enthusiasm for the educational efforts of the people of the United States was very great. Horace Mann in Massachusetts appeared to him to represent precisely the kind of educational statesmanship which a democracy had a right and a necessity to demand. The educational systems of Europe seemed to him merely to foreshadow in partial and antiquated fashion what the schools of the United States were attempting vigorously and what the schools of Chile and Argentina would be attempting as soon as Sarmiento could get back into action in his home country.

Sarmiento's first study of comparative education was his *De la Educación Popular* which was published in 1849. In this book he presents an interpretation and analysis of the school systems of France, Prussia, Holland, and Massachusetts, among many other general educational topics, which constituted a pioneer contribution to the then very infant (and still quite puny) subject of comparative education. Montt used it as the basis for a proposed reorganization of elementary education in Chile soon after it appeared, but the bill was defeated as being somewhat too progressive for Chile.

In 1851 there began the final revolt against Rosas, which culminated in the defeat of that tyrant at the Battle of Monte Caseros on February 3, 1852. Sarmiento, who took part in this campaign as lieutenant colonel in charge of the revolutionary army newspaper, was unable to accept the policies of the victorious general, Urquiza, and returned to Chile where his old friend, Montt, was now president. He was appointed by Montt to edit a new educational journal called *El Monitor de las Escuelas*. In this new task, Sarmiento displayed some of his best educational abilities. He was a professional schoolmaster, and like all professionally-minded men, he was intensely interested in the details of the job. He filled the pages of *El Monitor* with precise descriptions of plans, models, exercises, and devices. He discussed texts and programs of study. He reviewed theories of education. He continued his contributions to comparative education.

In 1855, Sarmiento returned to his native land, settling in Buenos Aires rather than in his home province of San Juan because of a split between the Federal government of Urquiza and the provincial government of Buenos Aires. At this point in his career, Sarmiento had done most of his educational work in Chile. He was now forty-four years old, and he had made his professional contributions as a teacher, director of single schools, educational writer, and student of comparative education. From now on, working in his native country and particularly in the provinces of Buenos Aires and San Juan, he was to be primarily a provincial and national educational administrator and educational statesman.

As senator in the Buenos Aires provincial legislature and as newspaper writer and editor, Sarmiento continued the efforts to develop an adequate system of schools which he had practiced in Chile. As director of public schools in the province of Buenos Aires, he entered upon a kind of activity which was new for him but which he carried out with energy, intelligence, and sound educational policy. No other state or provincial educational administrator of his time, whether in Spanish America or elsewhere in the world, had a clearer conception in theory and in practice of what may be called the twentieth-century view of the school administrator's function than had this fighting schoolmaster of the Andes.

What are the characteristic features of this modern view of the educational administrative task? They include, first of all, the belief that the behavior-changing forces of any society must be studied and directed as

a complete pattern of action. Sarmiento was a modern educational administrator because he believed and acted upon the belief that the education of the people of San Juan, Chile, Buenos Aires, the Argentine Republic, the United States of America, any community, any nation, and the whole world constitutes a unitary phenomenon. He believed that this phenomenon must be studied, judged, understood, and administered as a whole complex of activities, ideals, and results, with no part omitted, or it will be poorly studied, inaccurately evaluated, misunderstood, and mal-administered.

Sarmiento's theory and practice of school administration also included a second great article of the modern administrator's creed. This was based on the belief in democracy as a system whereby men not only order their own ways for their own benefit but also change their own ways consciously and freely in the direction of their own ideals. Any school administrator who holds this notion to be true must engage in a comprehensive program of informing and inspiring all the people of his community, province, state, or nation with adult education, public relations, press, political, and all other available instruments of popular education. He cannot be a mere operator of schools for children and youth. He cannot set up secondary schools or colleges in intellectual and social corners. He must speak in the market place. He must be a politician. He must live with his people in good times and in bad times. When they put their hands to the plow, he must try to help direct the furrow. Even when they go to war, he has to go with them. An educational theorist, a student of comparative education, even a classroom teacher, might successfully hold himself aloof from some of these experiences, but an administrator of the Sarmiento type can never do so.

When Sarmiento was elected governor of his native province of San Juan in 1862, he continued even amid the rigors and pressures of civil war his activities as a school administrator. He founded a new secondary school and a school of agriculture. He encouraged the development of a "model" elementary school which had previously been established and named after him. He found new sources of revenue for public education by the difficult and unpopular expedient of expropriating certain Church property. He was not a democratic administrator, in the usual current meaning of that term. He was the product of a rough society where the boss spoke and acted directly, and he tended even too much for his time to administer schools in that fashion.

In 1865, Sarmiento was appointed Argentine minister to the United States. From an educational standpoint, the chief features of his three-year stay at that time in our country were his close association with national teachers' meetings and his preparation of the book called *The Schools: Foundation of the Prosperity of the Republic in the United States.* In the national educational meetings he was active in supporting the resolutions for the establishment of the United States Office of Education. He was one of the few foreign observers who have ever understood the real

function of that office. In *The Schools,* he gave, among a scattering of various educational data and ideas, his last definitive statement on comparative educational matters.

This paper has treated of Sarmiento as an educator and has, therefore, omitted all mention of some of the most important acts and periods of his life. It has treated other parts of his career only very incidentally. This must be the treatment accorded to most of Sarmiento's life after his election to the presidency of the Argentine Republic in 1868. While he did retain great interest in education in the six years of his presidential term and tried in various ways to further the cause of the public schools, he was now in so high a position that his effect on education was not outstanding.

After leaving the presidency, Sarmiento continued to be active in politics and in education for the fourteen years of life remaining to him. He was again superintendent of schools for the province of Buenos Aires. He organized and headed a national council of education. He continued his educational writings.

His educational services in the period after his term as president were valuable enough to have earned him a respectable place in the history of education in Argentina even had they been his only educational contributions, but they were not of the same quality as his earlier work in Buenos Aires and in Chile. He had now occupied positions so important that it was hard for him to get down to the detailed work he had done so well in his more youthful days. He now tended to trust more to educational reform by law and decree than he had in the days when he had less to do with laws and decrees.

The old man retained his fire and much of his drive almost to the last, however. He never lost the self-confidence which his enemies called egotism and satirized by dubbing him "Master I"—*Don Yo.* "I understand that in certain quarters," he is reputed once to have said to a hushed Senate crowded with members of the opposition, "I am known as *Don Yo.* Good! I am *Don Yo.* I am the same *Don Yo* who fought Don Juan Manuel de Rosas so long and whom Don Juan Manuel de Rosas wanted so badly to have killed. Don Juan Manuel de Rosas sleeps today under the daisies far away, and *Don Yo* is here, looking for trouble!"

Whether *Don Yo* was a great statesman, I leave to experts in statecraft to judge. Whether he was a great writer, I am glad to have scholars in the field of Latin-American letters decide. The quality of his efforts as a publicist, diplomat, and soldier can likewise be evalued much more adequately by those who know better than I the standards of excellence in such fields. Whether he was a great educator, however, is a question about which I have no slightest doubt, and I believe that my judgment of his eminence will be supported by any of my fellow students of education who will examine his life and times.

Domingo Faustino Sarmiento was so great an educator that it would be a high compliment to any European or North American schoolman of the nineteenth century to call him the Sarmiento of France, of England, or of

the United States. But such a compliment would be impossible, for there was only one Sarmiento, unique product of a unique combination of intellectual and emotional, social and historical forces. He was a soldier in the never-ceasing war for the liberty of men's minds. His weapons were the weapons of his times, and the barbarism against which he fought and which he described so vividly in what is generally considered to be his greatest literary effort, *Civilización y Barbarie*, was also the barbarism of his times.

Yet those weapons and that barbarism are with us in this century all over the world as they were in San Juan and La Rioja a century ago. The war in which Sarmiento engaged must be fought and won every day. It must be fought by all of us who claim the title of educator. It must be fought in every classroom, laboratory, library, newspaper, radio station, theater, pulpit, or other spot from which men teach and learn. As we ride into this conflict, there is no spirit among those who rode before us more worthy of our salute than that of the great schoolmaster from San Juan de la Frontera.

EDUCATION IN LATIN AMERICA

I. L. KANDEL

Professor Emeritus of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University

Rarely has the power of a book been so clearly illustrated as by the influence of José Enrique Rodó's *Ariel* on the minds of leading intellectuals in the Latin-American republics for nearly two generations. Even more than fear of Yankee economic exploitation and dollar diplomacy, Rodó's criticism of North American culture and his plea to Latin-American intellectuals to preserve and maintain their own spiritual and cultural values developed misunderstandings between the two parts of the Western Hemisphere which have only recently begun to be removed. There is a profound lesson in this story, as much for relations within a nation as between nations. Prejudices arise and become so deep-rooted that they become obstacles even to the attempt to understand our neighbors. Rodó never visited the United States, and he wrote *Ariel* on the basis of rumors, hearsay, and bias. It is only as intercourse between the Northern and Southern republics has increased that the old prejudices are gradually beginning to be dissipated.

Nor have we in the United States been guiltless. There has been too much of a tendency to perpetuate labels, to emphasize the characteristic differences between the North and South Americans, and to ignore those common elements of personality which alone can supply the bases for understanding between neighbors at home or abroad. The attitude, in personal as in national relations, was tersely summarized in a musical comedy, *The Belle of New York,* in the following stanza:

> Our virtues continue to strike us
> As qualities magnificent to see.
> Of course you could never be like us,
> But be as like us as you're able to be.

Even if we are not guilty of prejudices, we tend to look for the exotic in other peoples. If we were to test the average North American's idea of the Latin American, even after the extensive development of Latin-American studies, we would get the impression that life to the south of us is a constant serenade or fiesta, which Dr. Walter Kotschnig has described as a fancy-dress view of our neighbors. This we owe to the type of advertising used to lure tourists, and particularly to the moving pictures which stand more in the way of promoting real understanding than any other medium of communication. Nor are the materials found in textbooks on Latin America above criticism, as was shown in the study, sponsored by the American Council on Education in 1944, of *Latin America in School and College Teaching Materials.* In general, a little knowledge is a dangerous thing. The Latin-American propensity for *mañana* excites our

risibility, and we do not stop to consider whether the philosophy of living implicit in that word may not have some meaning for us in our emphasis on speed and efficiency.

The task before us has been ably and pertinently defined by Dean Henry Grattan Doyle, and what he has to say about inter-American relations applies just as forcibly to all international relations:

> The foundation stones of an effective long-range policy of Inter-American friendship must include a decent respect for the opinions of the citizens of other countries; a decent humility about our own shortcomings as a nation; true understanding based on thorough knowledge; frank discussion of common problems by people who really know, not "phony" experts, in the spirit of goodwill; and *education, education, education.*[1]

One of the best approaches to the understanding of a people is through the study of its system of education. For it is through its formally organized education that a people expresses its hopes and aspirations and defines those aspects of its culture which it regards as its most valuable possession. Education does not proceed in a vacuum; it reflects the social, political, economic, and spiritual conditions of a nation—everything that makes up the culture of a people. It is significant that leaders like Enrique Molina, Edmundo Correas, Américo Ghioldi, A. Carneiro Leão, and many others have found from their study of education in the United States an entirely different picture of North American culture from that painted by Rodó.

In undertaking to present an account of education in the Latin-American countries, the fact is not ignored that there are fundamental differences between them. The differences between the twenty Latin-American countries are greater than between the forty-eight states of the United States. They differ, as the poet, Robert Bridges, wrote

> By conditions of life which none other could share,
> By climate, language, and historic tradition.

That this is inevitable may be gathered even from a superficial glance at a map which shows the Latin-American countries stretching from the sub-tropical through the tropical and sub-tropical again to a point exposed to the blasts from the Antarctic. Geographical location and land configuration have produced differences despite the common cultural heritage with which the peoples started. Further, the countries are not endowed with the same economic resources, nor have the available resources been developed to the same degree in the different countries. Because of geographical conditions and the lag in industrial development, the means of communication, even within the same country, are still inadequate. The process of urbanization, characteristic of more advanced industrial nations, has been slow, and the economy of most of the countries is still predominantly agricultural.

---

[1]Henry Grattan Doyle, "A Realistic Approach to Practical Inter-Americanism." *Hispania*, May, 1945, p. 208.

The influences of geographical conditions cannot be ignored in any study of illiteracy in the Latin-American republics, although they are not the only cause. The difficulties in developing an adequate distribution of schools described by Andrés Bello in 1848 have not been overcome, nor do they apply to Chile alone.

> There are few civilized countries in the world in which the extensive provision of schools is as difficult as in Chile. Her extensive territory with its uneven surface, mountainous, covered with forests, interspersed to a large extent with deserts, in other parts broken up by steep valleys, with scanty or difficult irrigation, make the aggregation of population impossible. . . . Owing to the configuration of the soil, population increase is naturally slow, and the formation of closely knit communities difficult.[2]

To the geographical distances must be added the inherited system of large estates, with the landowners frequently living in the capitals or abroad and their agents concerned mainly with producing revenue rather than with the education of the children on the estates. The problem of rural education has emerged as one of the most serious to be solved.

There is another factor which explains the slow progress of the development of universal education, and that is the low standards of living. The greatest advances in education throughout the world have accompanied the rise in standards of living which has followed industrialization. That stage is only just beginning in some Latin-American countries, due in the main to the two world wars and more particularly to the recent war. Many, but not all, of the causes of political unrest arise from the slow but inevitable transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy. Low standards of living are obstacles to the development of a sound educational program, and, even where schools are provided, children do not attend at all or attend with such irregularity that they soon revert to illiteracy. In addition to lack or remoteness of schools, the reason is that they are kept at home to work with and for their parents, a reason which applies also to urban communities. Amanda Labarca, in discussing illiteracy in Chile, points out that the smallest number of illiterates is not found in the larger cities but in two centers as remote from each other as Antofogasta and Magellanes. In these two places, she writes, "the worker has succeeded in raising his standard of living, enjoys a higher wage, and all can send their children to school."

Geographical and economic factors are determining forces in education everywhere. In the Latin-American republics there is still another factor—the heterogeneous character of the population. Taking the whole of South America, the population is 32 per cent white, 18 per cent Indian, 20 per cent Negro, and 30 per cent mestizo. But averages in such a case mean little. The range is from a population that is 88 per cent white in Argentina to almost the exact reverse in a number of other republics. Percentages of illiteracy are in direct correlation with the percentages of racial distribution. This does not mean that the non-whites are not educable, but that they have until recently been educationally disfranchised.

[2]Quoted by Amanda Labarca, *La Educación en Chile*, p. 90. (Buenos Aires, 1946.)

It is only within the past two generations that a genuine effort has been made, beginning with the reforms in Mexico, to incorporate the non-whites into membership in their respective nations. The task is not simple; it involves frequently the problem of superimposing the national language over a wide range of different dialects; it may involve the substitution of new concepts and standards of living for traditional ideas and modes of life. But a start has been made, and there is no country to the south of us which is not attacking more seriously than ever before the problem of the liquidation of illiteracy as a means for raising standards of living, improving health and hygiene, and changing methods of work. It is significant in this connection that of seven pamphlets on *Education in the United States*, distributed throughout Latin America in Spanish and Portuguese, the pamphlet on *Rural Education* aroused the greatest interest.

The new interest in extending the provision of education is definitely one aspect of the development of a new sense of nationalism and of national consciousness in each of the Latin-American republics. This development has been inspired by a number of causes. Of these the first is due to rising resentment against exploitation of economic resources by foreign capital and the desire to keep within each country the revenues from such exploitation. This is signalized in the restrictions that are being placed upon foreign industrial and commercial concerns. A second cause is the alarm aroused by the efforts of foreign ideologies to penetrate and find a foothold. In education this has resulted in proposals or actual legislation to control and set up certain regulations to govern schools established by foreigners. A third cause is a gradual cultural awakening which is marked by a tendency to abandon the traditional practice of looking abroad for models to imitate and to turn the eyes inward to the local scene, both natural and human. With this aspect I dealt in a paper prepared for the Conference on Intellectual Trends in Latin America held in this University in 1945.[3]

In this respect the Latin-American countries are following the same rhythm as the United States, which began to develop what might be called a truly national culture only with the turn of the century following a certain quickening of national consciousness as well as rapid industrial development, both of which exercised strong influences on the progress of education.

Another important aspect of the rise of what may be termed a sense of cultural autonomy is the movement to acquire a better understanding of the forces that determine national life. This movement is marked by the beginnings of an interest in sociology and social analysis, which are affecting the approach to education. This movement is already well established in Brazil and is in its initial stages in other republics.

---

[3]Institute of Latin-American Studies, The University of Texas, *Intellectual Trends in Latin America*, pp. 82 ff. (Austin, Texas, 1945.)

It is difficult to determine which of these forces is exercising the greatest influence on the development of education. Some of them are intangible; others concrete and definite. It is possible to find a clue to the major interests of the Latin-American countries from the kind of assistance and advice which they have requested from the United States. In the past it was a common practice for these countries to invite educational missions from abroad to undertake the reorganization of some part of their educational systems. Generally, the missions came and went, and the results of their work were negligible. In the long history of foreign educational missions only one exercised an influence on the preparation of secondary school teachers in Chile for any length of time.

Recognizing the fact that educational reforms can succeed only if they emerge from the cultural soil of a nation and cannot be transported from another culture, a new method has been adopted. The Latin-American countries have turned increasingly to the United States for guidance. According to the new scheme, they enter into contracts under which the Inter-American Educational Foundation selects specialists in the areas of education requested. The specialists serve as advisers; the development and execution of plans for reform are left to the educators of the country concerned. It is from these contracts that some idea can be obtained of the major directions of current educational interest. Among these the first is a widespread movement for the study of English, which is met in part by the cultural centers, promoted by the Department of State's Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs and local groups, and in part by specialists in the teaching of English selected by the Inter-American Educational Foundation. Advice on the development of vocational education, agricultural education, and rural education has been sought by a number of countries (Bolivia, Brazil, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Honduras, Panama, and Peru), while Chile requested assistance on the reform of secondary education. This method is preferable to that used in the past and is supplemented by the opportunities provided for Latin-American students, educators, and specialists in various fields to secure the training that they desire in this country.

The importance attached to vocational education is a natural consequence of the widespread trend toward industrialization, the reason for which has been ably stated in an article on "Industrialization in Latin America" by J. Rafael Oreamuno, Vice-chairman, Inter-American Development Commission:

> Sound industrialization in the other Americas offers new opportunities, but with the ending of the world conflict, we must now face realistically the problem of using new and future economic facilities intelligently to maintain hemisphere production, inter-American trade, and employment at high levels. With the aid of the inter-American system of coöperation, these problems will be satisfactorily met, and industrial and other development will go forward as never before. As each country makes a fuller utilization of its resources, its inhabitants will benefit by increased incomes and higher standards of living. With greater incomes and purchasing power, the nations of

America will become better customers and thus contribute to an increased and orderly international trade, which is recognized as a basis for continued peace and prosperity throughout the world.[4]

In this statement we have a clue to the future development of education in the Latin-American countries. That future will be determined not only by industrialization but also by improvement in the agricultural economy which will find larger markets. Should this trend succeed in establishing itself firmly, it will have social, economic, and political repercussions. It is possible that some of the political unrest now prevalent may be the effect of certain social changes, already beginning in the emergence of a middle class and of a labor movement. For, as Ernesto Nelson has pointed out a number of times,[5] there has not existed in the past a strong middle class, and where it did exist, it was comprised of industrialists and business men of foreign origin, who passed their enterprises on to their children. It was largely as a consequence of the absence of opportunities for children of the middle classes that there has existed in all countries so widespread an urge to secure employment in government offices *(empleomanía ó funcionarismo)* and virtually only a single track type of secondary and higher education, with government jobs or the liberal professions as the goal.

Industrialization, unless it passes through the stage of exploitation which marked the similar development in other countries but which is not inevitable, should bring increased incomes and higher standards of living. If that result is attained, it will produce another transition from the past. The social organization in Latin-American countries has been described by one of their most distinguished intellectuals as marked by *una cabeza con un cuerpo raquitíco* (a large head with a diseased body).

The problem of adapting education to the economic needs of the country is, in fact, not new in the Latin-American republics. Some of them began to feel the impact of European movements, particularly of the French, to diversify secondary education in the middle of the 19th century. Little or nothing resulted from this impact, however. For the past thirty years or more secondary education has been under constant criticism. And the chief criticism has always been, and still is, that it is too intellectualistic or too theoretical and that it does not make adequate provision for those adolescents who need a more immediate and more direct preparation for earning a living. One of the outstanding contributions on this subject was the book, *Nuestra Inferioridad Económica*, by Francisco A. Encina. The thesis of this Chilean educator, whose book appeared in 1912, has been repeated many times by educational leaders in other Latin-American republics. In 1916 the idea of diversifying the types of education available for adolescents was incorporated in a decree published by Carlos Saavedra

---

[4]*Bulletin* of the Pan American Union, October, 1945, p. 557.

[5]See *Educational Yearbook*, 1936, of the International Institute, Teachers College, Columbia University, pp. 1 ff.; and *Educational Yearbook*, 1942, pp. 1 ff. (New York, 1936 and 1942.)

Lamas, then Minister of Education in Argentina. The reform was short-lived, but it antedated similar reforms in some European countries by nearly a quarter of a century. The reorganization of adolescent education, proposed by Saavedra Lamas, was ahead of the times. Today, with the economic changes that are going on, such a plan would have a greater chance of success.

The failure of plans for reform, which too often do not progress beyond the stage of a *projecto,* directs attention to one of the serious obstacles to educational advancement in the Latin-American countries. As one studies the history of education in these countries, one cannot fail to be impressed with the clarity and insight of the leaders of educational thought. These leaders rank as high as leaders of educational thought in other countries. But leadership in theory, however sound it may be, stops short at leadership in practice. The Latin-American republics have not succeeded in producing leaders of the type of a Sarmiento in Argentina or a Varela in Uruguay, who were able to combine an insight into the educational needs of their respective countries with the ability of the statesman to translate ideas into legislative action. Ministers of education come and go, and in the brief periods that they are in office, each tries to leave his mark on the educational system by a minor and inconsequential change called a reform.

There are two explanations for this situation. The first may be found in the traditional social structure existing in most Latin-American countries. Señor Madariaga has pointed out that there is no word in Spanish for the French *élite* or the English "leader"; the nearest equivalent is *la minoría,* which takes us back to the description of the social structure already cited. With few positions at the top, competition for them becomes intense. There results a tendency to make the passage from the bottom to the top of the educational ladder increasingly difficult. There is a curious paradox in the fact that the educational systems have for a long time been vertically organized. Unlike the practice in European school systems until recently, the Latin-American countries have not had dual systems with elementary education for the masses and secondary education for a select group.

Elementary and secondary education have been fairly well articulated. If the numbers who pass from the elementary to the secondary school are small, it is due to the economic circumstances of the parents or to the lack of secondary schools. But secondary education, although theoretically open to all qualified for admission, is itself a selective institution. By a system of examinations, nine out of ten pupils are weeded out before graduating. This is due not solely to the fact that the curriculum in general is not adapted to a wide range of individual abilities, but also, in my opinion, to a policy, perhaps unconscious, to keep down the numbers likely to compete for the few positions at the top. Too many teachers measure their success by the number of pupils they fail. There is, further, more behind student revolts, where they occur, than a protest against the severity of examinations.

The second explanation for the failure up to the present to put sound ideas into practice is to be found in the fact that the control of education is highly centralized. Education has thus been a concern of governmental authorities rather than of the public. The Latin-American tradition is the reverse of the North American. If many of the weaknesses in our education are due to extreme localization, many of the weaknesses of education in the Latin-American countries arise from extreme centralization. In the early stages of building up an educational system in countries with great distances to be covered, with sparse means of communication, and with populations scattered in small and isolated groups, the only way of laying the foundations for an educational system at all was through the central government. Centralization in itself is not an evil, provided that the financial support of education is separated from its control in every detail. The only safeguard against rigidity of control lies in an alert public. Generally, however, the public has not been taken into partnership by the governments in determining the progress of education. A start may be seen in the efforts to promote the formation of parents' associations and in the gradual spread of cultural missions, which, if properly conducted, carry the message of education to the public in their own small communities as well as promote the improvement of teachers. The currently widespread movement to liquidate illiteracy, which is addressed as much to adults as to children of school age, may contribute to an awakening of the public, provided, however, that the liquidation of illiteracy is recognized at the same time as a method for raising standards of living.

The analysis of the educational situation which I have presented is confirmed in current educational literature in Latin America. In discussing the educational system of another country, there is altogether too great a tendency to bring to it concepts from another system. It is essential, however, if the risk of misunderstanding and misinterpretation is to be avoided, to make an effort to discover the opinions and views of those intimately associated with its destinies. I make no apology, therefore, for quoting from the works of some outstanding leaders.

On the relation between the social and political structure, Amanda Labarca writes in her book, *Bases para una Política Educacional* (Buenos Aires, 1943):

> The educational system, with its laws and regulations, is a means whereby the *government* seeks to carry out its cultural objectives.
>
> We say government rather than nation, because it is identical with the directing group, the class, and the parties which support it. In a republic it represents the whole nation, provided always that the wheels of democracy operate honestly and perfectly. But in the Indo-Iberian countries, which have not yet incorporated into citizenship considerable sections of the masses of the people, the government has represented the cultured and powerful stratum, whose interests have not in the least been in harmony with those of the nation as a whole.
>
> From this discrepancy there arise defects which pass from the political to the educational field and which have produced the existence of one system of secondary schools for the upper classes and another of the peoples' schools which are in general poor, incomplete, and divorced from their environments (pp. 187 f.).

The educational systems and practices have perpetuated the European patterns and have paid no attention to actual conditions; "the school has lived somewhat in the clouds," while teachers, writers, and academic people have belonged to a monastery of scribes, isolated from the school, from the throbbing, suffering and inspiring world about them. "To master a certain quantity of learning, we have disregarded our vital responsibilities."

> In order that there may exist the possibility of a profound culture, genuine, and with creative capacity, a close union is indispensable between the individual, his land, and its institutions: knowledge and love of its geography; air, mountains, flora, fauna, the wide horizons of oceans, and its organic structure as a nation (p. 192).

Here are presented the bases for a new approach to education in contrast with an educational tradition "which has led to the perpetuation of economic anemia and the lack of adaptation" in the Latin-American countries. Here are the bases for the reconstruction of education which, founded on a realistic understanding of a nation's culture, will be directed to promoting and improving health and sanitation, to training in ability to use the available economic resources, to developing a sense of social and civic responsibility, and in the long run to the advancement and enrichment of that culture, because it springs from the soil and is not an alien importation.

If Amanda Labarca addresses herself to a philosophical discussion of the foundations of educational policy, the Argentine educator, Américo Ghioldi, in his *Bases de la Pedagogía Constitucional* (Buenos Aires, 1944), discusses not only the relation of education to the constitution but offers a series of detailed recommendations for the reconstruction of education. For elementary education he urges that it must be common, national, popular, and indivisible with "a national plan, centralization of school finances, unification of the regulations for teachers, administrative and educational decentralization, and adaptation of the school to its environment" (p. 165). Secondary education should be completely reformed, should provide for vocational differentiation and be accessible to all. Only if centralization gives place to decentralization can secondary education evolve and progress. The philosophy of democracy should define the ends of secondary education. An autonomous body should be established to administer secondary education and to study the problem of adolescent education from the point of view of guidance, both educational and vocational. On the implications of democracy for education Ghioldi writes:

> The Argentine problem paralleling the problem throughout the world, consists in the re-evaluation of democracy and liberty. There is no other task before us in the next few years and it is wise to direct our attention from now on to the methods of consolidating the fundamental elements of democracy and to consider the objectives which education must meet to strengthen the constitutional order and the creation of the aptitudes capable of meeting the social problems of tomorrow. Without entering into details we should be able, nevertheless, to summarize the elements contained in the idea of democracy, if we say that it implies the coöperation of free men who by

successive stages promote the equality of all, in a world organized to protect individual and collective security, to banish fear of hunger, to banish fear of oppression from within or without, and to abolish fear of spiritual and political oppression.

The technical question is to define the implications of democracy in the field of education, or, in other words, the positive bases for the education of the free man. Without claiming to clarify this point completely, I believe that the democratic principles of education can be grouped together in four fundamental directions: in educational policy, in educational administration, in the technique of instruction, and in the philosophy of education (p. 175).

Finally, I venture to quote from the outstanding work of another Argentine educator, from *Bachillerato y Formacion Juvenil* (Santa Fé, 1940) by Juan Mantovani, a passage which may serve as a summary of the new approach to education which is becoming manifest in the educational literature of our neighbors.

A certain consciousness of what is our own, a certain feeling of what is national has begun to occupy our attention. In our times and in many ways—in music, plastic arts, the theater, the novel, poetry, and essays—an effort is being made to give concrete meaning to the intuition of Argentine life. For the direction and selection of educational problems this is of capital importance. The whole country is concerned and in this direction there are new attitudes as much in the manner of appreciating the economic as the cultural life. One looks and marches toward a more profound and genuine Argentine life. This spirit adapted to the field of secondary education represents a powerful contribution to the force of youth education. It gives to humanistic education a concrete direction; it bases it upon a profound reality, not on external pressures and superficial ends (p. 147).

Did time permit, these quotations could be supplemented with citations from writers in other countries—A. Carneiro Leão in Brazil and A. Nieto Caballero in Colombia, for example. The awakening of national consciousness, which will lead to a new educational orientation, does not mean, certainly in the minds of these writers, the development of a spirit of narrow nationalism. They realize that the development of a national culture is to a nation what the development of personality is to the individual. All would, I believe, agree with Mantovani's statement that "the idea of the nation cannot be exclusive, for culture is made up of values which have their source in the universal community. . . . The education of the human being is, in a word, a cross-fertilization of national and universal cultural values."

I have attempted in this account of education in Latin America to present a picture of the tendencies in educational thought. But as the history of our own educational development proves, there is often a gap between educational thought and its translation into practice. For the moment all that can be said is that there is a ferment in education throughout the Latin-American republics which merits attention. Here and there efforts are already being made to bring theory and practice together to meet the new demands of a cultural renaissance. In this effort two traditional Latin-American slogans—*gobernar es educar* and *gobernar es producir*—are finally beginning to be united in an integral scheme of reform.

NEW MOLDS FOR LATIN-AMERICAN YOUTH

ERNESTO GALARZA

Former Chief, Division of Labor and Social Information, Pan American Union

In discussing contemporary Latin-American education and youth, these are the assumptions that I make:

Teachers are only a part, not by any means the most influential, of pedagogy. Pedagogy is a professionalized branch of education which some profess in order to earn a living and others in order to learn to live. Education is that part of experience to which content, order, significance, purpose, direction, and values have been attached. And this experience is only a part of civilization, in which man gives more to life than he takes from it.

On these assumptions, we start with the teacher at the bottom of the heap, and we end with the rarest of all things—the truly civilized individual. Between the beginning and the end of the process lies all culture itself—all the arts of creation and communication and the sane and insane forms of human behavior. Education both transmits and transforms. The emphasis depends on historical circumstances; so that there are periods in which education and educators are the inert molds into which a stagnating society pours the young into its own image, as there are times when education and educators are the first to leap on some new parapet of human experience to discover some new horizon of human freedom.

I said the emphasis, or the balance, between preservation and transformation depends on historical conditions. We should add "and on choice." For teachers, pedagogues, educators, citizens, rulers, and statesmen must decide continuously how much enterprise they will give to the preservation and how much to the transformation of the past.

From this angle, the study of Latin-American education becomes more than a local excursion in a branch of comparative pedagogy. It becomes an invitation to look at the past, the present, and the future of one part of the American family. In looking, we may learn some interesting things about ourselves.

Until about fifty years ago, education in Latin America may be said to have been feudalistic with a thin varnish of republicanism. The church schools established by Pedro de Gante in 1523 created a pattern, a method, an attitude and a set of vested interests which remained largely undisturbed until the beginning of this century. Clerical education for generations was simply a weapon, according to the classical Spanish view, "for snatching from the Devil in America more souls than he has wrested from us in Europe." Throughout the colonial period education was a pillar of the church, as the church was a pillar of the crown.

The universities served an important decorative as well as preservative function. They were the prime mold into which the fugitive traditions of Iberia were cast. They transmitted a uniform language, medieval philosophy, art, music, architecture, and innumerable crafts. These great traditions were passed by rote from generaton to generation because they were ancient. As long as colonial society remained isolated and virtually inaccessible, no other explanation was needed. To those who charged that the system was ridiculous, the answer was given that it was historic.

Higher education kept the brain smooth and the hand soft. It was for the élite and the wellborn—for those destined by birth to govern the souls and possessions of lesser men. It was speculative, rarified and wordy, hostile to the notion of observing, compiling, arranging, and analyzing the facts of human experience. Speech and discourse were elegant, sensitive—a wave of the past rather than a wedge into the future.

The place of woman was definitely not in the university. The professions were closed to her, and she could leave her mark in history only as a saint or as a sinner. Public administration was not taught—it was embalmed; and the only retort in science was the standard one that "it was contrary to Aristole."

For the masses, education aimed to teach the dutiful appreciation of alms and to avoid questions as to how to do away with the need for them. Charitableness had the double function in education: to teach salvation by giving a little and conservation by not giving too much. What little instruction was given the masses was mnemonic and ceremonial, albeit kindly. The peasant did not have a chance for the additional reason that he was an Indian, whose possession of a soul was for some time open to serious doubt. Teaching was theoretically the most exalted of callings and practically the most debased of the gentle professions. Thereby arose one of the most common clichés of our educational heritage—that teachers are the most noble of souls, and because they are all soul and no stomach, they can get along with very little to eat.

As a system, colonial education conformed to the nature of society; and since that society did not change in essential respects with the establishment of independence and republicanism, the system lived on. For the masses it continued to reflect the primary demands of the mine, the hacienda, and the sweatshop on the peasant and the industrial peon; for the élite, the ideal of the encyclopedic man, the professional ornament of society. The control of education continued under tight administrative centralization, enhanced, among other things, by the continuing bankruptcy of local government.

Between the wars of independence and the first World War, the old molds began to crack. The creoles became the ruling class, and they, with the mestizos, began to exalt "the American way" of doing things as against "the Spanish way." Nationalism, which had burned underground in the universities in the closing days of colonialism, wrecked Spanish rule in America. The University of Chile was established in 1831 "to initiate a

new period in the literary and intellectual development of the nation coincident with the beginning of new political life." The Bolivarian doctrine of inter-American comity and brotherliness brooded over the hemisphere, on which the hard realities of national character, national power, and national interest gradually took shape and occasionally gave off sparks when they touched.

Latin-American educators looked to other countries for ideas on educational reform. Sarmiento of Argentina and Varela of Uruguay came to the United States to admire American industry, American enterprise, American "go-ahead," as Varela called it. These original exchange scholars saw many things that impressed them beside the industrial revolution.

Sarmiento reported that in the United States "there is no middle class; therefore, there are no poor." He saw education in this country as the "safety valve for property and life against the difficult times that might come." He admired the luck of the Anglo-Saxons, who were not burdened by a large mass of Indians—"the bastard progeny, hostile to culture," as Sarmiento described them.

Varela, too, came and saw and was conquered. He was overwhelmed by American efficiency—"hotels for 500 people where you can get anything you want." He was impressed by American political democracy in action—"congress, controlled by an immense majority of republicans, is widely radical." But above all Sarmiento, Varela, and later Martí, like those who followed them on these cultural pilgrimages, were captivated by the role, as they understood it, of free, universal, compulsory education in the accomplishment of national greatness. They went home determined to follow the example.

They met with great obstacles. In the intellectual field, José Enrique Rodó opposed them with his Ariel-Caliban antithesis. In public administration, they were hampered by lack of funds, inertia, and low professional standards; in the economy, by little capital and primitive methods of production. But eventually time worked in the direction of their thinking.

Fifty years ago change speeded up and new conditions began to be created for educational development. The steamship, the railroad, the automobile, and the airplane opened the remote corners of the continent, searching for wealth, knowledge, and adventure. The two world wars stimulated industrialization as nothing else had done in four hundred years. Native capital began to accumulate, to build factories, to absorb the intricate know-how of management and money making, to demand a more skilled working class and tariff protection. Trade unions gradually formed against the hell and high water of brutal despotism, Pinkerton systems of repression, and the appalling poverty and ignorance of the masses. Chambers of commerce and trade associations began to clamor for scientific research in the universities, for more vocational schools. The radio and the motion picture spread.

Other powerful educational and cultural forces came on the scene. American propaganda during World War II advertised the optimistic promises of the Good Neighbor gospel to the tune of as yet unknown millions of dollars. Military defense projects led to educational programs in health, sanitation, nutrition, and home economics. Hundreds of thousands of Latin-American workers were mobilized to work in places often thousands of miles away from home. The exchange of culture became almost as important as foreign exchange. Spain poured thousands of refugees, its best minds, the advance guard of its democratic manhood and womanhood, into the American hemisphere. And the Soviet Union, through a sustained and adroit propaganda, matched in scope only by the propaganda of the Coördinator of Inter-American Affairs, began to throw its weight around.

It would be interesting indeed to try to follow the connections between these forces and the changes and adaptations that followed them in Latin-American education. Here I only want to point to the threads, not to follow them.

On the technical side, the Latin-American schools have kept pace in theory and, to a lesser extent, in practice with contemporary progress in the methods and tools of teaching.

Curriculum research, with a strong psychological emphasis, has become a basic part of school administration here and there. Tests and measurements, often borrowed from the United States, have been adopted by the university schools of education in some countries. Educational statistics, to which Rego in Brazil gave impetus forty years ago, are still far from adequate, but they are improving. And while the great mass of Latin-American school children are still taught in ill-adapted buildings, at least the standards of school plants have been raised, and not a few well-planned school houses have been constructed, especially in those places where visiting tourists are more likely to notice them.

Visual education has gradually made its way into the schools, largely through the efforts of such institutions as the Chilean school film laboratory. Schools of the air have been tried in several countries, including Puerto Rico, Uruguay, Cuba, and Mexico. Experimental schools, once called progressive, have humanized the classroom. In this connection, we should recall Pizzurno's efforts in Argentina, beginning in 1896, and Jesualdo's *Escuela Activa* in Uruguay. Here and there, Latin-American school teachers have carried the progressive school idea into the community, transforming it from a tantalizing experiment in classroom democracy to a democratic way of life for young and old. Such schools have been, by turns, workshops, social welfare centers, clinics, and laboratories for vital community problems.

Along with these untraditional efforts to break the old spiritual molds has come a more sympathetic understanding of the role of creative art in education and an improvement in the techniques of teaching the three R's, especially reading.

Above the elementary school, education has been less responsive. In the secondary schools the shades of the boards of regents, as in other lands, begin to close in on the student, and the curriculum becomes more intent on what society demands than on what the individual requires. Nevertheless, the high school curriculum has broadened in the last quarter century, and vocational courses have made a dent on the classical tradition.

To an extent that is not always easy for United States students to grasp, Latin-American education has produced occasional and very interesting demonstrations of the social function of the school in its widest sense. Of these perhaps the rural mission, developed systematically in Mexico twenty-five years ago, and later adopted by Cuba, Venezuela, and Chile, has attracted the most attention. The rural mission is a missionary enterprise. Small bands of devoted instructors, each a specialist in some branch of teaching, go from village to village, giving the rural masses glimpses of what good schools could do for them. Such has been the stubborn resistance of the feudal land barons to these missionaries that not a few of them have paid with their lives for their zeal. Not a few little mud school houses in rural Latin America have been destroyed by those who want to stamp out the traces of educational redemption that the rural missions leave among a blighted peasantry.

The school, in many countries, has also broadened its social responsibilities in the cities. School lunch programs have been tried from time to time, with more or less success, in Peru, Mexico, Chile, and other places. Colombia has added shoes to the school lunch program, and one rural school in Bolivia some years ago made the toothbrush a requirement in the curriculum. Little by little the nutrition programs have looked beyond the child to his family.

Partly because of educational evolution, partly on account of increasing industrialization, education for social work has gained increasing recognition in Latin America. Social service training is a strictly contemporary trend. Schools of this type have multiplied during the past ten years, and there is probably no Latin-American republic today which does not have in fact or in prospect one of these institutions. The social work school in those countries is an adaptation of European or United States ideas, but often a very dynamic adaptation. Watching the daily rounds of a social worker in one of the larger industrial plants in Chile, for instance, is an object lesson in group work and industrial relations. Trained Latin-American social workers do not yet seem to have grown that intangible professional hump that comes from long acquaintance with the well known "case load."

The organization of trade unions has had some educational by-products that cannot be overlooked in any survey of Latin-American education. The "popular universities," established by political organizations with a strong trade union bias, have filled a vacuum in labor education. Many unions have set up their own technical, vocational, and cultural courses for their

members and their families. The vocational schools of the railway unions of Argentina are a good example of this type of educational work.

Through collective bargaining some unions have induced employers to create educational facilities and services which would not otherwise be available. Where this has not been feasible, the political power of labor has made itself felt through government regulation and supervision of privately financed but publicly administered schools where ordinary public schools do not exist. Wherever a strong mass movement of the workers has developed, a triple pressure has been felt for more public schools and social services related to the child, for educational and cultural opportunities provided by the unions proper, and for employer-financed facilities where neither the state nor the workers could finance them.

In the field of inter-American cultural exchange, labor has fared badly. Only a minute number of Latin-American workers have been reached by the inter-American workers exchange program; and many who came to the United States to study modern production methods have not found it too easy to get what they wanted. The greatest opportunity of all to achieve a genuine inter-American labor education program—the importation of Mexican war workers—was, as I shall mention later, quite muffed.

The universities, too, are feeling out new possibilities for educational service. The summer school, partly to catch the tourist intellectual, partly to serve the teachers of the country, has become a permanent department in many universities. It may be that in many of these schools many an American G.I. will put his bill of rights to practical use. Some universities, like that of Chile, have adopted the all-year extension courses, in which the course of study yields more to the interests and needs of people who must work for a living as they learn.

The demands of industry, especially in countries like Argentina and Brazil, have pushed the university into course-of-study reforms in which scientific research, business management, foreign trade, marketing, and advertising will have an increasingly important place. In the countries which have the most advanced industrial systems—Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Cuba, and Colombia—higher education for more efficient production will be the order of the day.

Some people may view this trend with alarm, seeing in it the fate that has overtaken certain eminent institutions of higher learning in the United States. Ariel, in whom Rodó symbolized the spiritual nature of the Latin American, seems to be yielding ground to Caliban, symbol of the United States "go-ahead." Whether in this country Ariel the poet can once more be raised above Caliban, the plumber, while in Latin America the plumber takes the place of the poet, is a bit of comparative education and culture on which the educators of this hemisphere might well speculate.

The American universities will be called on to play an even greater role in hemispheric cultural exchange in the future than they have in the past. Student and professor exchange is now actively promoted and financed by governments, but it is through the universities and learned societies that

such exchange is made effective. So much time, energy, and money will continue to go into this branch of inter-American relations that we ought to be clear as to what we are trying to accomplish. Evidence on this matter should be collected and analyzed now, not a hundred years hence. For instance, it is possible that this exchange, under certain conditions, might turn out to be a valuable means for keeping the channels of social research and public information open and contacts free. But it is also possible that cultural exchange on the level of higher learing may itself become "coördinated" to purposes other than absolute freedom of inquiry. There are signs that education may not find it easy, in the long run, to avoid this type of "coördination."

The universities of the continent have done an exceedingly poor job in the field of inter-American social science research. The best work in this connection has been done by government employees and in relation to wartime defense projects. But for all that the universities are concerned, the state of our knowledge on housing, nutrition, labor organization, migratory movements, and the social aspects of industrial development is little better than it was twenty-five years ago.

What is the reason for the neglect of an area of research in which the possibilities are so obvious? I ask the question because the universities (I am speaking of certain instances in this country) as cultural bridges are beginning to carry some strange traffic.

Take, as an example, one great Eastern university that granted an honorary doctor's degree to a not too literate South American dictator—a gold-braided goon whose claim to historical mention will ever rest upon the fact that he supervised the massacre of striking workers in his country. His contribution to knowledge was that he and his collaborators tried to keep the knowledge of the event from world opinion.

Take, again, the more recent case of another eminent Eastern university, which has publicly honored—not yet, fortunately, with an academic degree —an internationally known personage who was intimately connected with the massacre of the Bolivian workers I have just mentioned. This man has set up three fellowships in that university and has harvested a rich crop of press notices which put him in the forefront of the sponsors of inter-American cultural exchange. The fact that this man made his début as godfather to cultural exchange with the public blessing of an Assistant Secretary of State does not, I think, add merit to a claim so cheaply bought and so ostentatiously advertised.

I venture to say these things with some emphasis because this kind of role may become a pattern, not only throughout our entire university world but in the lower schools as well. I know of one instance that shows how the winds may be blowing in the not too distant future.

During the war, at the height of our Good Neighbor propaganda in Mexico, a magazine in that country published a special memorial issue on the Fourth of July in honor of the United States. That issue contained, among others, some statements by Mexican citizens who long for a return to the

good old days of the Dictator Porfirio Díaz. On one page a certain industrialist made the suggestion that hourly and daily wages should be abolished. On another it was strongly suggested that what the country needed was a man on horseback to put the Mexican revolution in its place. A thousand copies of this material were bought by the Coördinator of Inter-American Affairs and distributed gratis by the Office of Education in the schools of this country. I imagine that this was done to encourage the study of Spanish in our schools. I do not know what the boys and girls who were given that magazine learned from it. But those statements to which I have referred would encourage them to believe that what is wrong with the Mexican people is that they rose in rebellion against feudalism, dictatorship, monopoly, and abject poverty in 1910.

Could it be that the universities and the schools, in the free Americas, might become instruments of an inter-American policy that is not fixed in the free play of public information and discussion?

I think the signs say that it could be. For not many months ago there was held a teachers' international congress at Endicott, New York. There were several delegates from Latin America. Two of them were from Bolivia. One of them came to give political speeches about a "people's revolution" that put the tin barons back in power, including the one who has just established those three fellowships. The other Bolivian delegate was the son of the Bolivian ambassador, traveling under borrowed credentials as a classroom teacher. Travel arrangements for both these persons were made by officials of the United States Government.

This, I suggest, may be one of the most important molds for American youth in the future. This would be a pity, for what we need is the strong, clear light of knowledge to get us out of the fix we are in. American education cannot be a spotlight of publicity manipulated for subtle purposes; it must be a floodlight adequate and appropriate, as Thomas Wolfe once wrote, to everything that it illumines.

And what it must illumine, first of all, is the fundamental sickness of the Latin-American schools, which is their poverty. They do not have the plant or the equipment or the staff necessary to take care of all of the population of school age. There are countries where over half of the children who should be in school are not. There are others in which the enrollment in the secondary schools is less than one per cent of the total school enrollment. In 1942 one state of the republic of Colombia was short of teachers to the extent of some 4600, on the basis of one teacher to fifty pupils. Illiteracy runs as high as 80 per cent in some rural areas. Reports from some countries (Mexico, for instance) show that pupil load per teacher sometimes runs as high as 100.

If the condition of the schools is bad, the plight of the teachers is not much better. Salary figures by themselves say nothing of living standards; but we know that below the border school teachers are being paid as little as $30.00 (U. S. currency) a month, in a country whose cost of living is

one of the highest in the Americas. Hence the teacher strikes that have been breaking out regularly in most of these countries.

But education is also struggling against assaults on the foundations of the traditional democratic creed that we associate with Horace Mann and Sarmiento.

A few years ago, school books were publicly burned in Mexico. They were burned because they reflected too faithfully the spirit of the Mexican revolution. It was time, some said, to correct the excesses of the rural missions, to put a brake on the "socialist" education of the middle 30's.

Today we are witnessing a thoroughgoing "coördination" of the schools of Argentina. President Perón, under the pressure of a rapidly growing national industry, has called on the universities to give him "more engineers and fewer politicians." This is simply shorthand for the totalitarian view of the schools of a nation, for the purge is under way from top to bottom of the educational system. So there begins out of the Argentine republic a mass migration of teachers, professors, and intellectuals. The clock has made a full round. Argentina has nearly accomplished some of the miracles that so entranced the great visionary, Sarmiento. But one miracle he did not foresee—how education, the precursor of Argentine democracy, would become the kitchen maid of Argentine national socialism.

The Mexican and Argentine straws bend in a heavy wind, which carries the echoes of a Venezuelan law enacted in 1937: ". . . teachers will regard themselves simply as organs of the state."

Moreover, with the mobilization of manpower throughout the Americas to keep the ranks of migrant labor full, an interesting situation arises. During the last world war, several hundred thousand Mexicans were contracted to come to this country for employment in war production. The implications of such mass movements of people are serious, not the least from the standpoint of education.

A major inducement offered to these workers, apart from wages, was the chance to take a short course in United States technology, history, and culture. Read the "come on" statements that were made to these workers, and you will immediately recognize the glamourous educational incentive. I observed the curriculum that was offered these workers in hundreds of railroad and agricultural camps. And I have no hesitation in saying that this phase of the manpower recruiting program, whose lessons are apparently being applied in the postwar period, was one of the least praiseworthy sides of the inter-American war effort.

Now the idea is spreading that migration to look for a job is a fine educational adventure, a first step on the way to the Ph.D. degree. This, I should say, is something of an overstatement. The condition of learning among the thousands of Bolivians who migrate each year to the cane fields of northern Argentina, of Mexicans who cross the Rio Bravo into the United States, of Haitian transients in Santo Domingo, of the Hondurans who pick the coffee of El Salvador, and of the Paraguayan migrants in Argentina and Brazil shows definitely that travel does not always broaden one.

The teaching profession may well be proud of one thing: regardless of the obstacles, there will always be some who will teach. At the bottom of the heap, to repeat a vulgar phrase I used before, there will always be true teachers who will instruct, educate, and civilize human beings into social maturity. They will do this even though they are ill-paid, ill-understood, and ill-used. They will continue bettering the methods of their calling and raising the standards of their profession in spite of the little that society does, in many places, to raise their status as citizens.

But the inner excellence of the vocation is not the whole of the matter. Outside the strictly pedagogical field new molds for American youth are in the making—educational and cultural molds that will vitally affect education and citizenship in our part of the world.

We have passed from the temporary crisis of war to the permanent crisis of continental defense. I do not refer to the military aspect of continental defense, for I know next to nothing about it. I only speak of the likelihood that the "frame of reference," to use a favorite expression of pedagogues, for education at all levels will be more and more a future hemispheric war.

In this coming period, the emphasis on education for inter-American brotherhood and understanding will become stronger. But it will be education of a special order. It will deal with the creation of attitudes with less and less relation to reality. Universities, professors, schools, and teachers will be expected—perhaps required, even commanded—to hand down to their students abstractions not connected with personal factual investigation and concrete personal experience, because the subject in hand is one that only ministers of state and strategists can deal with competently.

The new era calls for coördination on a hemispheric scale—coördination of arms, production, cultural exchange, opinions. The single command of the military, naval, and air forces of the hemisphere will be the ideal toward which all the other modes of inter-American relations will move. Such coördination, moving from the center out and from the top down, will encounter resistance—economic, political, and cultural—but behind it will be the national interest of the most powerful nation on earth. More and more it will be multilateral in theory, bilateral in form, and unilateral in fact. This is the trend of the inter-American system.

The Endicott congress, which I mentioned before, is a long step in the coördination of education on these lines. The speeches recently at the New York Herald Tribune Forum for high school students show how far we have gone already in insulating the minds of our youth from the explosive problems with which our generation and theirs will yet have to deal. The trend toward state regulation of teachers' organizations for the purpose of denying them the right of independent collective action for the improvement of their working and living conditions is on the rise throughout the Americas.

The press and the radio, whose educating or miseducating power is as great if not greater than that of the schools, have already shown what they can do as coördinating instruments. It is understandable that in the crisis of the war the high emotional note of President Roosevelt's good neighborliness should have set the key for radio broadcasting and newspaper reporting on inter-American relations. Those were critical times, not times for critical judgment by the masses of citizens.

But now, in the crisis of peace, the radio beam and the newspaper by-line are the same. No great newspaper, no influential radio commentator gives us the insight we need to look behind Spruille Braden's posturing crusade for democracy or Ambassador Messersmith's practical appeasement of America's best known national fascist—Perón. We will, I fear, read in our morning papers and hear over our radios more and more about the menace of communism in Latin America and less and less about the epidemic of hunger and fear that is spreading in those countries.

In regard to inter-American economic and social coöperation we have to take into the account the pattern that has already been laid out. During the war, according to the statements of our leading coördinators, the raising of living standards and the attainment of economic security were to be the first order of business for the inter-American system when victory was won.

This was a public commitment of governments, not a private obligation among individuals. Now that victory has been won, however, the public responsibility tends to be forgotten, and the fulfillment of that commitment is left to the personal judgment, inclinations, and philanthropic bent of private individuals. I mean that our joint obligations to work out the conditions of economic security and higher living standards in the Americas have been evaded. A solemn public trust has become a sop to private trusts. This seems to be the framework of our educational assignment in the field of economic and social policy.

These, I think, are some of the matters we have to think about if we would understand the future role of education in the Americas. The molds of the past are breaking, and new ones are being fashioned. What type of American they will shape in this, the atomic age, represents, as José Martí once wrote, "the dawn of a formidable problem."

THE INDIVIDUAL'S ROLE IN THE PAN AMERICAN PROGRAM

ERNA FERGUSSON

Writer and Lecturer on Latin America

The role of the individual is sometimes paramount in international affairs; always it has great significance. Even in the higher reaches of diplomacy and military affairs, it can be shown that the peculiarities, mental habits, and prejudices of individuals make history. This has been and still is very true in Latin American-United States relations.

It is told that once the small but elegant Mexican city of San Luis Potosí was deeply, though quite unintentionally, offended by a United States Secretary of State, then on a good will tour. San Luis got ready to receive him. Officials and persons of consequence dressed in striped trousers and morning coats, patent leather shoes and high hats. Ladies wore their smartest outfits and gardenias. But when the train drew in, the honored visitor, representative of the great and powerful neighbor, appeared on the back platform attired in a mussed seersucker suit and a straw hat.

By contrast, our Secretary of State who represented us at the Montevido Conference in 1933, made a series of calls. Every other delegate heard a knock at the door and a friendly voice saying: "I am Hull of the United States." It is easy to imagine how far that would go to remove any feeling that the great northern neighbor meant to emphasize size and power. I have wondered, too, if that easy friendliness did not stem from the fact that a certain young Captain Cordell Hull had been stationed, in 1898, in a small Cuban city where he made friends and perhaps learned the importance of unpretentious friendliness.

Go back to the time when our army landed in Vera Cruz in 1847. General Winfield Scott, hearing that the Bishop had ordered all churches closed lest the Yankee troops profane them, wrote His Grace to ask if he might borrow a church for Sunday. The Bishop, naturally, opened the churches and invited the Yankees to attend mass. General Scott and his officers appeared in full dress. There were no seats, but a bench was provided, and there the Yankees sat, ill at ease, not understanding the service nor what was expected of them. Then an acolyte came along and handed a huge candle to the General. Smaller candles were provided for the other officers, among whom was Major Robert E. Lee. Before they knew it, the Protestant officers were moving in a religious procession around the church. It was not only courteous; it was an act of real courage because the United States was suffering one of its waves of phobia, that time against Catholics, and General Scott was thought to have presidential ambitions. Maybe there was one who would rather be a gentleman than President.

One might relate dozens of similar anecdotes to show that the brassiest brass hat or the stuffiest stuffed shirt is an individual under all that.

But the most unimportant individual may play a role quite as significant in inter-American affairs. Wittingly or unwittingly he represents his country abroad and at home when he deals with other Americans. In our foreign policy his consensus eventually carries great weight.

I once went with a group of our teachers to visit an agricultural school in Mexico. We were met by a gentleman—certainly a professor though he bore very few sartorial marks of professorship. His immaculate blue jeans and shirt were faded; he wore *guaraches* instead of shoes. The ladies obviously took him for a janitor; it was so obvious to him that, despite the language barrier, I could not explain to them. We toured the building, an abandoned convent with nothing modern in it. As we went, I could very clearly visualize the steel, glass, and chromium buildings in the New England institutions my ladies had come from. "Where," asked one, "is the laboratory?" The laboratory, could she but have understood it, was in the nearby village, in the fields, in the lives of the young people through whom this school was trying to teach better living for village Mexicans. "Is this the library?" Yes; one shelf of books was the library. But did not a great New Englander say that one shelf was enough? Well, the only thing to do in such a case is to remove your countrymen as fast as you can.

Another, hearing an architect lecture, was impressed with how like a gringo he looked. How European he was, how shrewd a judge of people she did not catch. After he had talked, she asked, in all innocence, "Why does not your country send people up to study us and see how we got that way?"

What she meant by "that way," and how the cultivated architect caught the word's implications might have given her much food for thought.

On the sunnier side, I remember a shoe salesman from Ohio who spent some time in Cuernavaca. Having stomach trouble, he was obliged to diet several days a week, taking only milk. This interested the waitresses who decided that he must be performing penance for his sins. They liked him very much—though none of them could understand a word he said—so they made a practice of going to church daily to pray for him.

This was internationalism at its best. A simple man with no wide culture, no knowledge of Mexican history, just natural kindliness and a friendly feeling for folks. Perhaps it is just as well that such a man is not too fully informed before he goes to a country like Mexico. His own natural friendliness may serve him better than some of the reports we get. Until very recently—when we have begun to hear from Latin Americans—our reports have come from North Americans and have followed certain lines.

1. Explorers have reported how they went where no white foot had ever trod, how they braved rapids on the Amazon, snowslides in the Andes, head hunters in the jungles, and tropical diseases everywhere.

2. Missionaries have found ignorant, pitiful, often vicious people just waiting for us to bring them word of Jesus. Conditions are dreadful but may be corrected by sending the missionary back with more money.

3. Business men have found ignorance too, but they were less hopeful of the possibility of betterment. Generally, they found peons, illiterate, quite uneducable and needing to be handled like dumb driven cattle. They also found no nationals at all who qualified for technical or administrative jobs. All the well-paid jobs had to be manned by Yankees. They found, of course, many good ways to make money in lands with unexploited resources and cheap labor.

Diplomats have reported too, and their reports are marked strongly by their individual preferences and prejudices. A Spruille Braden and a George Messersmith do not see eye to eye in Argentina. Josephus Daniels went to Mexico under a cloud because as Secretary of the Navy he had ordered the bombing of Vera Cruz in 1914. But he made fast friends in Mexico. He did not change his ways; grace was said before meals, even at state dinners, and no wine was served. But the man's natural friendliness won.

Latins seem to like and trust two types of diplomats. They admire the formal correctness of a Sumner Welles with his impeccable protocol, his command of their languages. They also appreciate the natural dignity of a man like Josephus Daniels. The spurious they are quick to spot, and they hate it.

Lastly we have had reports from scientists in all lines from archaeology to modern medicine. Their reports are objective and dependable. And they make friends wherever they go. Why? Because they go to learn; they ask advice and coöperation everywhere. They show respect. The same may be said of artists. The most scatterbrained artist is impressed by the natural beauties or the arts of the land he visits. The real student of painting, music, and literature respects what he finds and consequently arouses respect.

Such men do not go condescendingly to better a backward people—and however worthy the motives, such an approach suggests insult to its recipient—but they go to learn what has been done by the country's own specialists; to pool knowledge; to advance together. This attitude is based on respect both for what the situation actually is and for the individual concerned. Our hope is that we, as a people, may follow the example of these men. We have much to learn. Basic respect for people will carry us farther than any other one quality.

To attain such a mature state of mind we have one great hurdle to leap. We must understand several participants in the "affaire Pan-Americana." You may, as youngsters, have enjoyed, as I did, counting up the number of individuals engaged in any conversation. There is, first, I as I see myself. A very superior person. You as I see you. A slightly dubious fellow. I as you see me. This character I may never know or even suspect. You as you see yourself. This too is forever hidden from me. And finally there sits in on every conversation those two unknown characters, both of us as we really are. Here are too many individuals ever to know them all. Still it may help to know that there are so many figures in the inter-American

scene. And one more, at least, is becoming known to us of late as Latin Americans begin to write books in English, or as their books on the United States are translated into English. Here appears a "Yanqui" we never dreamed of. Reading such books is sometimes distressing; it may be amusing; it is always enlightening and salutary.

First we note that we are not being judged by the savages who scared the explorer, by the pitiful derelicts the missionary saved, nor by the amusing or picturesque primitives that engaged the folklorist and delighted the tourist. That these people judge us there can be no doubt; the judgment of the Indian in the jungle, the peon on the ranches, the miner underground has vast potentialities; but so far they are not articulate. No, in the books we are judged by cultivated, shrewd, humorous men and women who are, as a rule, quite unimpressed by what we think we are. They often show concern or resentment at what we think they are. And why would they not?

So what do they think?

Running back over our list of reporters, we find that explorers as a rule come off well liked. They may seem funny, but they get along well because they, like the scientists, offer and so win respect.

The missionary, judged not by his grateful converts, but by those he did not convert, often shows up as a disrupter of families and one whose unconsidered remarks often give offense. A Baptist missionary in Guatemala once told me that there were thirty-six Christians in a Catholic village of several thousand which had received its first Christian missionary a couple of hundred years before Roger Williams was born. Here is ignorance truly —but who is ignorant?

The businessman is surely judged by the lowliest worker, especially as that worker begins the long slow pull into unionism and demands for better conditions. But he is judged also by writers of books. Luis Quintanilla, Mexican poet, lawyer, diplomat, describes him as "always in a hurry, pushing people around for no reason at all. . . . His tastes are very simple, baseball, automobiles, and cocktails. When he is not chewing gum, smoking cigars, or gulping Coca-Cola, he is eating ice cream. . . . Intellectually this creature, so successful in business, is rather slow and limited. Not so heavy as a German, but something like that. . . . To a gringo, business and even golf are more important than women. He no more knows how to handle the latter than he knows what to do with a cane. He is aware of it. That is why he feels uncomfortable in the company of women; and it explains why there are so many men's clubs in the United States."

The businessman, in the sense of Big Business, is judged by everyone south of the Rio Grande. Wherever you talk with Latin Americans, they will remind you that many of our big companies, making money in their lands, pay their nationals less than they pay gringos. This complaint ties in with the general resentment against imperialism which no longer means taking territory—as we did in Panama—controlling a government—as we

did in Cuba, in Haiti, in Santo Domingo, in Nicaragua; but using our wealth to achieve more remote control—dollar diplomacy.

Several points may be noted here. Only the governments of our neighbors can require that United States companies cease to discriminate against their nationals. When they do so, our companies comply. This has been fully proved in Mexico, where businessmen who had maintained that no Mexican could qualify as an engineer or administrator found, when they were forced to use Mexicans, that they qualified very well. Nor should we forget that many of our businessmen have made good friends, learned the language, acquired respect for the people they deal with. That they deal with businessmen and even government men who agree with them that wages must be held down and business given a free hand is no more than must be expected.

Dr. Quintanilla also mentions women. "They all have beautiful legs. . . . They are all blondes with blue eyes and curly hair. . . . They are completely untamed. See how they walk the streets in slacks! They all have baby doll complexions. In short, physically they make the grade.

"But morally! They are dangerous specimens. They are cold-blooded. If you are not careful, they will take you to a hotel room and blackmail you later. . . . She will get you into trouble unless you can talk her into behaving with Latin circumspection. She should be taught to refrain from crossing her legs carelessly and to wear restraining garments. But (we think deep in our hearts) there is one thing in favor of gringos; they are crazy about us. . . . That logically explains why American women love to travel."

It may be added that our women who have followed their husbands south do not as a rule adjust to the other country as well as the men do. See how in the big oil and mining camps women live behind woven wire fences often with a guard at the gate! Inside all is North American. Little cottages like Missouri, tennis courts and golf links like California, screened porches like New Jersey, magazines from New York. Many such women never learn more Spanish or Portuguese than they need in the kitchen. When a prominent national brings his wife for a visit, they have to scurry around to find somebody who speaks enough Spanish or Portuguese to entertain the lady. Our women have found it quite possible to live a quarter of a century in a country without learning its language, reading its literature, knowing anything about its culture or way of thinking.

Our diplomats, as we have seen, are judged as individuals and acutely judged. Our diplomacy, on the whole, is criticized on two counts. It is too tinged with business—dollar diplomacy. Too often the diplomat who strongly advocates the loan has turned out to be associated with the bank that makes it. Too often we have supported the rule of dictators.

Our dilemma is persistent. Do we support the existing regime? Do we support the rebellion? Do we stay out? Whatever we do is wrong—is intervention. The bogey they always fear is Yanqui imperialism. *El Gigante del Norte. El Coloso del Norte.*

Our confusion lies in that some of us find it easier to deal with one dictator who can be met and convinced over the poker table than with a sprawling, adolescent, inexperienced democracy. Opinion in the United States depends upon whether one believes the report of a diplomat whose family is interested in some international cartel or of Ernesto Galarza of the Pan American Union who has been studying conditions among the lowest paid workers. We are, without doubt, a schizophrenic country. No wonder we cannot maintain a consistent foreign policy. This is a fact that we shall all, perhaps, do well to accept. We do not all want the same thing in foreign relations. Those of us who really believe in democracy and hope to see it expand in Latin America, are, doubtless, in the majority—if we only understand! We must make ourselves heard, both here and there. For democracy is growing in Latin America. Have no doubt of that. We, as Americans, must decide where we stand. Obviously we must learn all we can about the actual situation in those troubled countries.

Our confusion about where we stand is reflected in their confusion as to what we are. Most writers imply, though few state it, that they are confused between US, the colossus with big capitals, and us, just folks. On the whole, however, they distrust US as Big Business, economic imperialism; they like us, as folks. But they sum us up in ways that offer surprises.

1. They find that we lack culture. Many writers may be quoted to that effect. Erico Verissimo, a Brazilian now at Mills College in California wrote: "The level of culture is much lower than in Europe. In Europe workmen know who Voltaire and Pasteur are and can recognize a Gaugin painting. In the United States workmen do not know where Brazil is and only heard of Pasteur after seeing Muni in the picture."

2. They find us standardized. Dr. Verissimo again: "I lunched (in various parts of the country) with about seventy professors. All dressed alike, had the same habits, ideas, same jokes, liked the same food, talked in the same manner, were ignorant (or knew) of the same things." Dr. Verissimo did admit that they wore their hats wider in Texas than in Boston.

3. They find us imperialistic. We have covered this.

4. They are amazed by our worship of business and respectful attention to anything a businessman may utter. Luis Quintanilla cites a conversation with a highly intellectual physician of Boston who kept interpolating, "Of course, I'm not an intellectual." He was certainly an intellectual says Dr. Quintanilla. Why should he be ashamed to admit it?

Irma Salas, a distinguished educator of Chile who knows us well from much study in the United States, asked in private conversation "Why does your country fear opinions of everybody except the businessman?" We all know that to call a man "a good sound businessman" is held to qualify him to pontificate on any subject whatever. Often his considered opinion is that anything outside business is suspect—especially ideas, more

especially ideas that he does not understand. The Latin-American businessman is inclined to be respectful of ideas and to admit that there may be ideas he does not understand.

5. They find us frivolous. I was in Santiago de Chile on Pearl Harbor Day. There in a bookstore, I heard a German say in Spanish which he thought I did not understand: "The American papers will never bring the truth. The *Yanquis* are babyish; they cannot stand bad news." In Santiago too, I saw the movie "Hold Back the Dawn" in which Charles Boyer played a scheming clever European and Olivia de Haviland a confiding American school teacher. Irma Salas commented on that picture. "We," she said, "are too much like Boyer, subtle and without trust in anybody. You Yanquis are like the simple-minded school teacher."

6. They find us provincial. They are amazed at our inability to understand that there are cultures different from the Nordic, Protestant brand, and that fine cultures have been developed by people who are not white. They see us as living in a small Podunk where only one language is known, one religion, one way of thinking. They may find us funny or infuriating. When this tone is taken by a person who rates himself as superior, it is infuriating.

7. They find us prejudiced and intolerant. These are our qualities that perhaps most affect international relations. A young Mexican in a border town, perhaps in your state or in mine—let's say it was in Arizona—had to fight with his fists against nasty little boys who called him a dirty greaser. He has written most effectively against us, a leader of thought in his own country and in a much wider field. These things are inevitable. We, as individuals, are to blame. Only by individuals can they be corrected.

8. Latin Americans find us afraid of ideas and lacking freedom of speech and thought. In the freest countries down there discussion is open, free, acrimonious, exciting, the favorite indoor or outdoor sport. Teachers, especially teachers, are looked to for political discussion and leadership. It amazes them to learn that our teachers, even our university professors, are often timid about expressing opinions.

But the Latin-American opinion of us is not altogether bad. They like and admire much that we have and do.

1. Naturally and above all, they like—they even envy, but with some trepidation—our technology. They know they must industrialize their countries in order to take their place in the modern world. But they have seen how our technology often develops their countries for our benefit and not for theirs.

2. They admire and hope to emulate our gift for organization. They like trains that run on time.

3. They admire our democratic manners, our true classlessness.

4. They like and admire our women and the place they take in government and affairs. Their thinking women are almost pitiful in their eagerness to have us help them get the vote—win equal opportunities. It was

interesting at San Francisco to note how important it was to the Latin-American women to get the word "woman" into the articles of the United Nations Conference as often as they could. They wished to be called "women delegates." Our women, on the other hand, wished to be called only "delegates." We have had the vote long enough to think of ourselves as citizens without discrimination. We often fail Latin-American women because we cannot remember or never knew how it was before we won our fight.

5. They admire—again with some apprehension—the freedom our youth enjoys. They like the way we handle children, and they study our systems of education, especially in the lower grades. On the whole, they prefer their secondary school system to ours. They do not find us very well educated, outside of our technical training, and cultured not at all. I repeat that. But so do our neighbors repeat that, many times.

6. They admire our generosities, our great endowments and foundations.

Altogether Latin Americans seem to like us better as they know us better. They like us better when they see us at home, where they find us hospitable, easy in our manners, full of fun, though often also funny. Luis Quintanilla even defends us against the charge of no culture. Architecture he admires especially. He finds painting, sculpture, music, poetry, novels all superior. He does note with some amusement that Europeans have often discovered our best contributions before we did.

The Good Neighbor Policy brought all this out often as painfully as a boil comes out. One cannot forget that Dr. Oswaldo Aranha, a true friend of the United States, said when he was Foreign Minister of Brazil: "If they send me one more good neighbor, I'll declare war against the United States." Still the Good Neighbor Policy did much that was good, especially along the lines of bringing Latin-American students and professors here and sending certain Yanquis there. Perhaps our emissaries might have been more carefully screened. Like the old explorers, missionaries, businessmen, and tourists, they ranged in type from the high-handed, upstage, condescending superiors bringing light to simple and direct workers ready to coöperate for mutual advantage. Mutual is the word.

We needed much in 1941. We sometimes forget how much. We needed materials, and fast. We needed friends, dependable neighbors holding long and exposed coasts, suppressing our enemies within their borders. They, of course, needed protection that we could give, they needed development of their resources. But it was never a one-way deal.

For us, studying the individual's role, it is interesting to note how often difficulties were individual, how often changing the individual lessened or obviated the difficulties. Reviewing these occurrences, one is impressed again with the great value of the individual who goes with respect and without that feeling of superiority which generally stems from provincialism, if not downright ignorance. It appears that what we most need is people who can accept differences in culture, in development, in degree of social and industrial advance without insisting that one way is superior to

another. Even a superficial knowledge of the histories of Anglo and Latin cultures in the Americas shows at once that our differences are due to circumstances rather than to inherent weakness or strength. Timing, for instance.

Latin America was discovered and settled in the sixteenth century when all Europe was one—one empire and one church. Naturally the colonies and then the republics followed the pattern of one strong official church, a strongly centralized government. North America was discovered and settled in the seventeenth century when protest had swept Europe and disrupted the empire. All authority was suspect. And science had begun to seek truth through investigation and experiment rather than through philosophical discussion. These two modes still prevail to a large extent in our universities, South and North. They discuss; we experiment.

Geography made it comparatively easy for us to cross and subdue our continent; theirs is still largely unexplored today because of the Andes and the vast tropical basin of the Amazon. Perhaps only air travel could give man real mobility over those jungles and paramos—air travel and the conquest of disease. The effect, of course, has been disunity and the backwardness of many peoples whom progress literally could not reach.

Then consider immigration. The great movement of the nineteenth century was from Europe, where culture was high, to the United States where our ancestors conquered the wilderness, pushed aside aborigines too primitive to cope with them for long, and set up a truly democratic way of life. Those ancestors of ours were not conquerors on white horses, commanding armed men and directed from Europe. They were individuals on foot, and they came armed with long rifles, but more importantly with all the ways of civilized living that Europe had learned. Our people brought "savvy" in practical affairs; they built up a new people. They evolved perhaps the best example in history of true democracy. They made quick industrialization possible and gave us a high standard of literacy, of public health, of opportunity—not high enough, of course; not as high as the most advanced countries have; but pretty good, and excellent in comparison with our Latin neighbors.

This easy material advance had its disadvantages as well as its great advantages. For a quickly and easily amalgamated and Americanized citizenry, it is perhaps natural to shy away from ideas. It is easier to appreciate a bathroom that functions than a new philosophy that may and may not function. Naturally Latins find it incongruous that we are so quick to adopt a new gadget and just as quick to suppress a new ideology.

All these contradictions that I have sketched so lightly must lead to one conclusion, as I see it. We must try to understand our neighbors; we must recognize that they are trying to understand us. If we look now and again at what they see, we shall, I believe, clear many mists before our eyes. All such activities are and can only be individual. It is our task, yours and mine as individuals, to overcome the pettinesses and stupidities that hamper good feeling.

Must we, then, throttle every obnoxious tourist who offends through stupidity or bad feeling, slap down every little snooty snob on our university campuses? I think so, yes. We can. We must. In the long run, in our type of democracy, public opinion does prevail and public opinion begins with every one of us. Our position in the world is unprecedented. We did not want it; we seem to be afraid of it. But we cannot evade it. What the United States does is crucial. Fortunately we have had experience in Latin America; we have certainly made enough mistakes there to give us a pretty good blueprint of what not to do. But what we do comes out of what we think, what we are. If I were asked to name the basic idea that is wrong with our performance in Latin America, I should say that it is our provincial and pernicious notion that where there are differences we are always right.

There are certainly differences. Differences, properly understood, are exciting, stimulating, sometimes laughable, always valuable. For where we differ, we will surely find that they have what we can use as often as we have what they need. A synthesis of cultures is bound to come, just as in your state and mine, we are making a synthesis of Spanish and English. The intelligent thing, it seems to me, is to advance an intelligent synthesis, accepting the good from both, and, above all, showing our good neighbors the respect they certainly merit.

THE PRESENT INDIAN POPULATION OF LATIN AMERICA

DONALD D. BRAND

Former Professor of Anthropogeography, The University of New Mexico; Professor of Geography, The University of Michigan

In this paper I plan to discuss the absolute and proportional Indian population in Latin America and its parts, the areal distribution of this population, and the various forms of administration of the Indian in the Latin-American countries. The first steps in appraising the Indian population are (1) to determine the total population by political entities, and (2) to ascertain the distribution of the national populations among the constituent ethnic or racial groups. Both steps are fraught with uncertainty.

Population figures for the various countries should be essentially contemporaneous, but they vary from Argentina with a census this year, through such as Cuba (1943), Venezuela (1941), many countries in 1940, Colombia (1938), Paraguay (1936), Dominican Republic (1935), El Salvador (1930), Costa Rica (1927), Haiti (1918), Uruguay (1908), and Bolivia (1900), to Ecuador which never has had a national population census. In completeness and accuracy there is an enormous range from the fairly good and complete censuses in Mexico, Chile, Argentina, and Brazil to the woefully inaccurate population counts in the Central American republics, Haiti, Bolivia, and Paraguay. In many countries the censuses cannot be checked against each other since the censuses are taken at arbitrary intervals, e.g., Peru 1876 and 1940, Argentina 1914 and 1947, Brazil 1920 and 1940, and the Dominican Republic 1920 and 1935. The only solution is to use the latest official estimates and recent censuses and to modify these according to one's own experience and information. No statement of the population of the Latin-American countries is better than an informed guess based on many subjective judgments. The figures presented in Table 1 represent a perusal for more than a decade of nearly all the available literature and personal observations in many of the Latin-American countries.

The determination of the ethnic or racial constituents of the various Latin-American countries is almost an entirely subjective procedure. Few countries include race in their census schedules, and even when this is done, the data have very little scientific value. The reasons are numerous but simple. In the first place race is a biological reality but only an anthropological abstraction which can be determined neither by measurement nor observation. Anthropologists are not agreed as to racial criteria, nor as to how many races of man exist. Even when certain broad racial concepts (such as the tri-part division of most of mankind into black, white, and yellow races) are accepted arbitrarily, it is not possible invariably to place an individual in one or another of these races. This is because races are defined in terms of norms based on the measurements of many individuals, and individual peculiarities or departures from the racial norm may obscure the true relationship. Furthermore, an enormous amount of race

mixture has taken place over nearly all of the earth. This is especially true in Latin America where the American Indian or Amerindian division of the Yellow or Mongoloid race has mixed for some four centuries with Mediterranean and other divisions of the White, or Caucasian, race and with the Negroid peoples from Africa. Also, there are areas (as in the Guianas and the Pacific Coast of Mexico) where Mongolian and Malayan Mongoloids have added to the intermixture, and there has been an admixture of Melanesian Negroid blood in coastal Peru. In the case of mixed bloods, or breeds, it is absolutely impossible, with the techniques developed so far, to determine the proportion of the constituent races. One may feel fairly certain that a given individual is of mixed White and Indian parentage and even that the individual is perhaps three-fourths Indian and one-fourth White, but one cannot be absolutely certain. For many Latin-American mixed bloods there is an ancestry of sixteen generations in the last four hundred years which might represent nearly 33,000 marriages or matings. A vast number of races, castes, and types may have been involved in the ancestry. The outcome might well be an individual who was

Table 1

THE POPULATION OF LATIN AMERICA

Country	Last Census	1947 Estimate	Grand Totals
Mexico 1940	19,654,000	22,500,000	22,500,000
Central America			9,745,000
Belize 1931	51,000	65,000	
Guatemala 1940	3,283,000	3,660,000	
Honduras 1940	1,110,000	1,260,000	
El Salvador 1930	1,434,000	2,030,000	
Nicaragua 1940	983,000	1,190,000	
Costa Rica 1927	472,000	760,000	
Panama 1940	632,000	720,000	
Panama C. Z. 1940	52,000	60,000	
West Indies			16,170,000
British W. I.		2,610,000	
American W. I. 1940	1,894,000	2,150,000	
French W. I. 1936	551,000	640,000	
Dutch W. I.		120,000	
Cuba 1943	4,779,000	5,250,000	
Dominican Rep. 1935	1,480,000	2,100,000	
Haiti 1918	1,631,000	3,300,000	
South America			103,491,000
Guianas		640,000	
Falkland, etc. 1931	3,000	3,000	
Argentina 1947	16,108,000	16,108,000	
Bolivia 1900	1,816,000	3,750,000	
Brazil 1940	41,565,000	47,460,000	
Chile 1940	5,024,000	5,530,000	
Colombia 1938	8,702,000	10,580,000	
Ecuador		3,360,000	
Paraguay 1936*	936,000	1,160,000	
Peru 1940	7,023,000	7,990,000	
Uruguay 1908	1,043,000	2,480,000	
Venezuela 1941	3,951,000	4,430,000	
			151,906,000

*The 1936 census of Paraguay was incomplete. The official census figures for a number of countries (e.g., Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Panama, Brazil, and Colombia) have been given variously in different official publications of those countries.

mathematically-biologically half White, one-quarter Indian, and one-quarter Negroid, but who appeared to be pure White or pure Indian or pure Negro in external physical characteristics.

Also, one encounters a widespread use of terms with racial connotations in all parts of Latin America. Unfortunately, these terms vary enormously in their meaning or interpretation from one country to another, within the same country, and also with time. Such words as *mestizo, ladino, jivaro, caboclo, gaucho, cholo,* and *criollo (creole)* are examples. In general the confusion is confined to mixed bloods. However, an outstanding difficulty rests in the fact that in most of Latin America what were once purely ethnic or racial terms have become labels of social and economic class or status. This was not true in colonial times when baptismal records carefully indicated the ethnic or racial parentage of every child. In some countries, Mexico for example, race was indicated even past the middle of the nineteenth century. At present there is a tendency to use such criteria as wealth, education, dress, manners, occupation, and habitat to distinguish among Whites, mestizos, and Indians. This often means that an Indian who owns a ranch or farm, speaks a European tongue, rides a horse, wears shoes and a felt hat, and carries a revolver is accepted as a mestizo. Should a mestizo be a well-to-do merchant in a city, or a lawyer or physician, or a ranking politician, he may be classed commonly as a White. In other words, racial terms in much of Latin America are now merely socio-economic classifications.

For our purposes we will set up a composite definition of an Indian. In the first place, all individuals who call themselves Indians, or who are so classed by their neighbors or fellow-countrymen, probably are biologically pure or nearly pure Indians. This would include practically all "wild" Indians, all tribal and communal Indians, and all who speak an Indian language as a mother tongue. To these we will add those mixed bloods who appear to be predominantly (three-fourths or more) Indian in physical characteristics. This second group has been determined on the basis of the subjective judgment of myself and others concerning samplings of population. There has never been studied anthropometrically more than a fraction of one per cent of the population of any Latin-American country. These physical Indians or near-Indians are commonly lumped in with the mestizo population of the various countries, especially in such countries as El Salvador, Honduras, Costa Rica, Colombia, Venezuela, Chile, Argentina, and Paraguay. The results of years of study and of observations from the United States to Chile are embodied in Tables 2 and 3.

There are two main blocks of Indian population in the Americas, each with more than 10,000,000 Indians. The slightly more populous one extends from the states of Michoacán and San Luis Potosí in Mexico through Guatemala and Belize into Honduras and El Salvador. The other occupies the Andean valleys, slopes and highlands from Colombia and Venezuela into Chile and Argentina. The Andean block possesses the two numerically most important Indian languages—the Quechua and the Aymara. The

other extremes are represented in Negroid West Indies and northeastern Brazil and in the White region of eastern Argentina, Uruguay, and southern Brazil. The interior areas of the Paraná-Paraguay, Amazon, and Orinoco drainages (mainly below one thousand meters in elevation) contain the bulk of the so-called "wild" Indians. Many countries, either through a desire to seem more White or because of sheer ignorance, designate as Indians only those who are "wild" or non-Christianized. This tendency can be noted in Argentina, Paraguay, Venezuela, and Costa Rica to a very marked extent. One can generalize that most of the Indian population is to be found in highland areas within the tropics where there were relatively large populations and developed civilizations at the time of the European conquests. Conversely, only a small Indian population is found at low elevations within the tropics (principal exception the lowland Mayan area) and in extra-tropical latitudes.

Table 2

POPULATION BY RACES*

	Population	White	Mestizo	Indian	Negroid	Oriental
1. Brazil	47,460,000	39	20	3	37	1
2. Mexico	22,500,000	9	61	29	1	T
3. Argentina	16,108,000	89	9	2	T	—
4. Colombia	10,580,000	20	59	12	9	—
5. Peru	7,990,000	13	37	49	1	T
6. Chile	5,530,000	25	66	9	—	—
7. Cuba	5,250,000	30	20	—	49	1
8. Venezuela	4,430,000	12	68	10	10	—
9. Bolivia	3,750,000	12	31	57	—	—
10. Guatemala	3,660,000	3	30	67	T	—
11. Ecuador	3,360,000	7	32	58	3	—
12. Haiti	3,300,000	—	—	—	100	—
British W. I.	2,610,000	2	T	—	90	8
13. Uruguay	2,480,000	90	8	T	2	—
American W. I.	2,150,000	20	20	—	60	—
14. Dominican Rep.	2,100,000	5	14	—	81	—
15. El Salvador	2,030,000	8	52	40	T	—
16. Honduras	1,260,000	10	45	40	5	—
17. Nicaragua	1,190,000	10	77	4	9	—
18. Paraguay	1,160,000	5	30	65	—	—
19. Costa Rica	760,000	48	47	2	3	—
20. Panama	720,000	8	50	10	31	1
French W. I.	640,000	2	—	—	94	4
Guianas	640,000	3	5	12	39	41
Dutch W. I.	120,000	6	5	—	85	4
Belize	65,000	4	16	32	48	—
Panama C. Z.	60,000	9	20	1	70	T
Falkland Is.	3,000	100	—	—	—	—

*Arranged in order of absolute population, with the 20 Latin-American republics numbered in order of population. The figures under the racial headings represent percentages of the total national population. The various races are defined as follows:

White—76 to 100 per cent Caucasian.

Mestizo—Indian-White breeds with not more than 75 per cent of either White or Indian blood.

Indian—76 to 100 per cent Amerindian, and including other persons recognized or accepted as Indians.

Negroid—All individuals with perceptible Negro blood.

Oriental—Eastern Asiatics such as Chinese, Japanese, Indo-Chinese, East Indians, etc.

Fractional percentages have been converted to the nearest whole per cent, consequently totals may not be exactly 100 per cent. "T" represents between .3 and .9 of one per cent; "—" may mean absolute absence or less than .3 of one per cent.

The highest percentage of total population is to be found in Guatemala, Paraguay, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru. These range from about one-half to two-thirds Indian and are essentially highland, with the exception of Paraguay. The Paraguayan region represents an area of early Spanish colonization (chiefly by men) with very little colonization and relatively few contacts with the outside world in succeeding centuries. Furthermore, in

Table 3

INDIAN POPULATION

	Indian Percentage	Range of Estimates		Absolute Indian Population	
1. Guatemala	67	(50–80)	1.	Mexico	6,525,000
2. Paraguay	65*	(5–97)	2.	Peru	3,915,000
3. Ecuador	58	(34–75)	3.	Guatemala	2,452,000
4. Bolivia	57	(40–65)	4.	Bolivia	2,138,000
5. Peru	49	(32–70)	5.	Ecuador	1,949,000
6. El Salvador	40	(10–40)	6.	Brazil	1,281,000
7. Honduras	40	(3–50)	7.	Colombia	1,270,000
Belize	32	(0–32)	8.	El Salvador	812,000
8. Mexico	29	(25–55)	9.	Paraguay	754,000
9. Colombia	12	(1–20)	10.	Honduras	504,000
Guianas	12	(1–12)	11.	Chile	498,000
10. Venezuela	10	(2–10)	12.	Venezuela	443,000
11. Panama	10	(2–20)	13.	Argentina	274,000
12. Chile	9	(2–10)		Guianas	77,000
13. Nicaragua	4	(3–33)	14.	Panama	72,000
14. Brazil	2.7	(1–10)	15.	Nicaragua	48,000
15. Costa Rica	2	(.5–10)		Belize	21,000
16. Argentina	1.7	(.1–2)	16.	Uruguay	20,000
Panama C. Z.	1	(0–1)	17.	Costa Rica	15,000
17. Uruguay	.8	(0–T)	18.	Cuba	1,000
West Indies	—	(0–T)		Panama C. Z.	600
				British W. I.	200

*Although technically the majority of Paraguayans are mestizos, i.e., of mixed white and Indian ancestry, in terms of predominant physical characteristics and language the above percentage seems to be a fair expression of the situation.

the Paraguayan region (originally parts of what are now Paraguay, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil) the Jesuits maintained for nearly 150 years the nearest approach to an asylum for Indians uncontaminated by Whites that existed on a large scale in the New World. In a second group, from about 30 per cent to 40 per cent, are El Salvador, Honduras, Belize, and Mexico. Far below is a third group composed of Colombia, the Guianas, Venezuela, Panama, and Chile, between 9 and 12 per cent. The remaining entities have 4 per cent or less.

The distribution of absolute Indian population conforms roughly with that of proportional population. Of the five leading in percentage, only Paraguay is replaced by Mexico, but the order is considerably different. Mexico is easily first, with more Indians than the next two together. Peru is undisputably in second place with nearly 4,000,000, followed by Guatemala, Bolivia, and Ecuador, which range from about two and a half million down to slightly less than two million. Brazil and Colombia are closely grouped with nearly one million three hundred thousand each. These are followed by El Salvador and Paraguay, each with more than three-quarters

of a million. The next three, Honduras, Chile, and Venezuela, are bunched with about half a million each. Then comes Argentina with some 274,000. The remaining countries have fewer than one hundred thousand Indians each. It should be noted here that Uruguay at one time had killed off all the Indians, but in more recent years immigrants from Argentina and Paraguay have placed Uruguay back in the list of countries with Indians. The genuinely non-Indian countries of Latin America are to be found only in the West Indies, where disease, starvation, and mistreatment reduced the Indians to exceedingly small numbers within fifty years of the Colombian landfall in 1492. The Negro slaves brought in as labor replacement apparently absorbed most of the Indian remnants, as exemplified in the Black Caribs of today in the Lesser Antilles and the Caribbean coastlands of Nicaragua, Honduras, and Belize. The same thing happened to the Seminoles who fled from Florida to the Bahamas. Their descendants are now commonly classed as Negroes or colored people. Although Cuba early lost most of her Indian population, a few small groups persisted in the Oriente, near Habana, and in Pinar del Río. Their descendants are commonly classed as mestizos with some retention of Indian physical characteristics. However, the present small Indian population of Cuba derives principally from the descendants of Indian slaves and refugees who went from Tamaulipas, Veracruz, and the Yucatán peninsula in Mexico to Cuba in the previous century. Haiti and Jamaica have no Indians, and only small mestizo groups with more Indian characteristics than the norm exist in the highlands of the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico.

From the above remarks it is clear that many political entities in geographic Latin America have no so-called Indian problem because of the absolute smallness of the Indian population or because of amalgamation of all or most of the Indians with the Negroid stock. This is the case with the three Caribbean republics and all of the colonial possessions in Latin America. Also Costa Rica and Uruguay would fall in this category, although tribal Indians of the southeastern Costa Rican highlands are under the control of the Ministry of the Interior (Secretaría de Gobernación), and a "Board for the Protection of the Native Races" was reportedly founded in Costa Rica in 1945. In such predominantly mestizo and/or white countries as Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama, Venezuela, Colombia, Chile, Paraguay, and Argentina no formal office or bureau of Indian affairs exists, despite considerable blocks of Indian population. In most of these countries, e.g., El Salvador and Paraguay, the Indians are considered as absorbed almost completely into the national population and require no special office or consideration. However, because of the so-called "wild" Indians in the Chaco, Paraguay has a Patronado de los Indígenas del Paraguay and an Asociación Indigenista del Paraguay (1942–). In Nicaragua a section of the Ministry of Public Education has dealt specifically with the problem of educating the Indians and Negroids along the Caribbean lowlands. Panama is reported to be projecting a section on Indian Affairs within the Ministry of the Interior and Justice, primarily to cope

with the unassimilated Indians of the eastern jungles and the San Blas islands. Venezuela claims to have no Indian problem, but she has established an Indian division within the Ministry of the Interior to work with the more than 100,000 jungle Indians. Because the main block of Colombian Indians are highly acculturated and are treated as mestizos, there is no general Indian office. However, to handle the affairs of Indians in the national territories, there exist Indian sections in the Lands Department of the Ministry of National Economy and the Cultural Extension Department of the Ministry of National Education. Also, some of the states with recognized Indian groups (such as Cauca and Nariño) have bureaus of Indian Affairs (Jefatura de Negocios de Indígenas). Because of the problems attendant upon land titles in the Araucanian region, the Chilean government has a small Indian Office in the Ministry of Lands and Colonization. Argentina officially refuses to recognize the magnitude of her Indian population and consequently treats on Indian affairs only incidentally in the "Bureau of National Territories" within the Ministry of the Interior. However, since 1916 there has been a semi-official and powerless Comisión Honoraria de Reducciones de Indios. In summary, the above-mentioned eleven continental republics either have no special machinery to deal with Indians, or do so only in one or two limited fields such as Indians in national territories or Indian lands or Indian education.

There remain the six republics with the absolutely largest Indian populations—Mexico, Peru, Guatemala, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Brazil. All of these have specific offices or services which deal with most items pertaining to the Indian populations. Mexico's Department of Indian Affairs was for years (1935–1946) the only autonomous Indian office in the Americas. Recently, because of inferior work from 1940 to 1946, it has been reorganized as the Dirección General de Asuntos Indígenos and the Instituto Indigenista Nacional—both within the Ministry of Public Education. The National Agrarian Department is also concerned with Indian groups occupying ejidal lands. Guatemala, as a result of the recent political and social revolution, is developing an Office of Indian Affairs through the newly founded Instituto Indigenista de Guatemala. Since 1943 Ecuador has been developing a service and department of Indian Affairs within the Ministry of Social Welfare and Labor. Indians in the highlands of Ecuador are now organizing in federations, have held congresses in 1944 and 1946, and send a representative to the national congress. Peru in 1921 began an Indian section which, after reorganizations in 1937 and 1946, is now the Dirección General de Asuntos Indígenos in the Ministry of Justice and Labor. Bolivia in 1941 set up a department of Indian Affairs in what is now termed the Ministry of Education, Fne Arts, and Indian Affairs. Also, since 1943, there has existed an office of Free Defense for Indians in the Ministry of Justice. Brazil, in her Serviço de Proteção aos Indios (established 1910; reorganized 1939) within the Ministry of Agriculture has the oldest continuously operating Indian office in Latin America. This was

due to the grand old Indian explorer and engineer, General Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon, who is now in charge of the National Council of Indian Protection.

Several mentions have been made of national Indian institutes. These grew out of the First Inter-American Indian Congress held at Pátzcuaro, Mexico, in April of 1940. An Inter-American Indian Institute has been set up with headquarters in Mexico City which serves as a clearing house of information for all things pertaining to Indians—from ethnographic research to administration. A majority of the American republics have ratified the I.I.I. convention, and affiliated national institutes have been established in the capital cities of most of the ratifying members.

In the above brief sketch of Indian population and administration in Latin America only an outline has been provided of those materials that are treated more fully in: Donald D. Brand, "The American Indian: Forgotten Man of Four Centuries," pp. 20–39, *Proceedings of the Conference on Latin America in Social and Economic Transition,* University of New Mexico, 1943; and by the same author "The Present Indian Population of the Americas," pp. 161–170, *New Mexico Anthropologist* VI–VII:4, 1943 This paper is essentially a bringing up-to-date of the two papers cited.

ART STYLES IN PREHISTORIC PERU

ALFRED L. KROEBER

Professor of Anthropology, The University of California

It is my privilege to lay before you a story. It is the story of the development of the indigenous civilization of one of the great races of native America: the ancient, pre-Columbian Peruvians, popularly known as Incas. Actually, nine-tenths of them were not Incas, but pre-Incas. Particularly, I wish to present their development as reflected visibly in their art: the domestic arts as well as those devoted to expressing religious cult and emotion. The story is not one of continuous growth, but of fluctuation. Arts, empires, and religions grew, flourished, crumbled again, but passed on something to their successors. It is an ever-changing picture, variable for region and variable for period.

All of the story is prehistoric, in the sense that it precedes written history. Documented history begins in Peru with the invasion and conquest of Pizarro in 1532. But this year marked the death knell of native civilization—the beginning of its replacement by Spanish colonial and Catholic civilization. Beyond that date, we have some native traditions recorded by Spaniards; but their several versions are in direct clash of contradiction before they have been followed back a century.

In the main, our knowledge of the story must come through the acheologist: his explorations and excavations, his analysis of discoveries. The collections which he assembles are also documents of a sort. They are not written documents, for the Incas and their predecessors did not write. But they are visible, tangible records, whose meaning can be put together—often like a laborious jigsaw puzzle—and translated into a sequential outline narrative of what happened in century after century. This story comes to us wholly without eyewitness testimony. It rests on the indirect, circumstantial evidence of objects preserved from the past. This evidence is usually incomplete, like all records of the past. It can also be misinterpreted, like all evidence. But, so far as it goes, it is wholly objective evidence, free of all suspicion or possibility of bias or motivation.

I

What has helped archeologists most to unravel the tangle of culture sequences in the central Andean area of the past is the presence of a series of successive, distinctive styles and modes of life which were more or less pan-Peruvian. In distinction from the numerous local cultures—valley by valley—which influenced and reinfluenced one another in a tangled web of relations, these few larger movements each spread a special set of stylistic mannerisms over nearly the whole country. These greater spreads may have been due to waves of fashion or of cult; or to invasions carrying the folkways of the invaders into new parts; or to deliberate conquests leading to settled empire—as we know was true of the Inca in

the century or so before Pizarro. In the dimness of a remoter past, about which documents never existed and on which even legend is often silent, the archeologist's spade mostly informs us only inadequately of events and of what happened. But the results of critical events—whether these be battles, conquests, or apings of fashions—these results have a way of enduring for a time; and whether it be for two centuries or one or even only a generation, the current of life in a region is thereby altered, new ways are taken up, and new manners of using and wearing and making things are followed. These material changes the archeologist recovers in dozens and hundreds of examplars—in ceramics, in metal work and stone, in buildings, in fortunate cases even in woven apparel and accoutrements. And from them he infers a period of culture which may represent an innovation in one district, but, in another, an impact from something already established.

When such a fashion, way, or style is found to have prevailed in essential uniformity over most of the provinces of Peru, we can hardly but infer that the occurrences were simultaneous; or at least so closely consecutive as to be essentially contemporary. In this way they give us a *relative* time-datum for the whole of our area, something like a stratum of rock that bears the same fossils in disparate continents: the several deposits of the stratum are adjudged by the geologist to have been synchronous.

In archeology, such strata containing identical or near-identical artifact remains over large areas may be called horizon markers, to borrow a term from the stratigraphy of geology; and the widespread uniform culture, industry, or style may be designated a horizon style. We now know three such that are clearly distinctive and indubitable in Peru and the Bolivian highland, besides two or perhaps three others which have been crystallizing out into definiteness in the last few years of our explorations and comparisons. The three horizon styles which are sure and universally accepted are the Inca culture, the Tiahuanaco culture, and the Chavín culture, in order of increasing antiquity.

The Inca culture is that of highland Cuzco, from out of which as a center Peru, along with adjacent parts of Chile, Bolivia, and Ecuador, was rapidly overrun, from about 1400 A.D. on, by the Incas, and incorporated into the autocratic empire which Pizarro and his Spaniards overthrew in 1532. This Inca style was the first to be distinguished when serious attention began to be directed to archeological sequences some fifty or sixty years ago. It was easily identified by the exclusiveness of its occurrence in and around Cuzco, by its fitting Spanish eyewitness descriptions of native utensils in the time of the Conquest, and by constituting the uppermost layer where several differing pre-Spanish levels of remains lay superposed.

Next to be determined was the horizon of Tiahuanaco, named after a site near Lake Titicaca, just over the modern boundary in Bolivia, which was already an abandoned ruin when the Spaniards arrived. Here a monolithic gateway with distinctively styled relief carvings set the model for

a coherent style that was expressed in sculpture, metal, pottery, and textile patterns. This style could be interpreted only as earlier than Inca, and as earlier by some interval because of the lack of transitions between them. In fact, it was not long before various local styles could be fitted into the gap between Tiahuanaco and Inca. This was possible because such local styles and wares would now and then occur in several slightly different variants. Thus there might be local forms also bearing recognizable Tiahuanaco designs; then others with only faint Tiahuanaco reminiscences; still others purely in the local manner, with the last Tiahuanaco influence gone; and, still other cemeteries or levels, the same local style with incipient Inca admixture. Such series are thoroughly convincing as evidences of sequence, provided excavations are made and recorded with adequate accuracy.

Still earlier than Tiahuanaco, but more fragmentary and scattered in its remains, is the horizon style of Chavín, which became universally accepted by Peruvianist prehistorians only some five or six years ago, though Tello had first proclaimed it half a lifetime back. This is named after the type site of Chavín de Huántar near the headwaters of the Marañón, inland from the Sierra Blanca. This site was first visited by the famous naturalist Raimondi, who carried back to Lima a stela carved in strange relief; then by Middendorf, who seems to have had the first vision of a Chavín empire and style: and finally it was Tello who brought most of its impressive remains to light and traced their parallels elsewhere in Peru.

The culture of Chavín is the earliest horizon style yet known in Peru and it is likely to remain the earliest one which was aesthetically and monumentally impressive. This prediction may be ventured because the coöperative Virú Valley Expedition of 1946 found the local Virú remains of Chavín type directly underlain by a pre-ceramic culture, as this in turn was underlain by a pre-agricultural one. With Chavín we are thus evidently at the beginnings of the development of higher arts, organization, and civilization in Peru.

Between Chavín and Tiahuanaco there occurred some local developments with astonishingly fine achievements, such as the Mochica and Nazca cultures. In addition, considerable evidences have by now accumulated of two or three additional horizon sub-styles which promise to help organize our sequential understanding of the fairly long Chavín-Tiahuanaco interval. These widespread sub-styles are so far known chiefly from pottery, which is much the most abundant material in Peruvian ruins and graves, as it is also stylistically the most plastic and sensitive. These horizon substyles are: the Negatively Painted Style; the White-on-Red Painted; and perhaps the Florid Variant of Nazca.

These then are our tools, our means of evidence—we might say the scaffold from which the prehistorian works in building his reconstructed edifice of the predocumentary history of Peru.

II

Let us now turn around, at the earliest point to which we have penetrated, and, retracing our steps, let us outline the consecutive story of how native culture grew, changed, decayed, and intertwined in pre-Spanish Peru. We can give no dates—only estimates. Some would guess that the period from Chavín to Pizarro lasted 1500 years; others would guess 2500. But the relative sequence of the main events is clear and reasonably sure. The future, with its additional discoveries, will undoubtedly enormously fill in the story. But it will elaborate rather than make it over.

The type-site at Chavín de Huántar has a so-called temple—a stone-built terrace containing galleries that burrow through its bowels. Both the ruin and the valley are too small to have contained the capital of an empire. But the temple might have been the ritual center of a cult that extended over a large area. It is notable especially for its sculpture.

This Chavín sculpture consists of human heads projecting from walls in which they were set by tenons; of similar heads of felines, probably deities; of several carved pillars; and of slabs carved with monstrous cats and condors, representative of godhead.

Most of the heads are rounded, have furrowed faces, and sometimes Medusa-like hair of snakes. The cat heads are also round, sometimes with fangs protruding from a curled or straight mouth, sometimes with the pupil eccentric in the eye. The monumental pillars are surface-carved, with relief; they are none of them true statues in the full round. The Raimondi stela shows multiple heads and rays with curled-over ends. It is full of fine detail, formal, and strictly bilaterally symmetrical, which is unusual.

Somewhat similar, though single-headed, is the figure on the Yauya stela. Protruding fangs and feline claws are conspicuous.

The *lanzón*, so-called because the shape of the 15-foot column somewhat suggests a gigantic lance-point, stood in a subterranean gallery. It represents a monstrous animal, with tusks immense sweeping mouth, eccentric eyes, and brows and hair curling like snakes.

The obelisk, eight feet high and slightly tapering, has its four sides carved with somewhat variant symbolic representations in profile of a monster in whom feline attributes prevail. It is perhaps the most elaborate Chavín design that has come down to us. As our eyes unravel its intricacies, the attributes of clay and fang become evident as intended to be fear-inspiring.

Of slabs, the great condor is notable, with its heavily stylized wings, cruel claws extended in voluptuous curves, squarish head with jaguar mouth and fangs, eccentric pupilled eye, and condor beak.

Other slabs give us outright jaguars or god felines in full profile with the usual tusks and claws; with snake heads protruding and waving from head or back; with almond eyes cutting off the pupil with a drooping lid, a slumberous look lowering beneath.

Chavín stone sculpture thus ranges from the nearly realistic to the symbolically decorative; but it prefers the latter manner. It is imbued with a strong religious feeling and a superb sense of composition. The art possesses genuine grandeur. It is the best sculpture produced in native South America. Its lines and surfaces are massive but flowing. Curves predominate, but often within an implicit rectangular contour. Straight lines are used to achieve contrast. The weaknesses of the style are its dwelling on the monstrous in an effort to instill terror or awe, its over-intricacy, and its frequent lack of salient organization. As sculpture, it fails to free itself from the block of stone. There is not a single full-length or full-round statue; the figures and heads suggest boulders, monoliths, or slabs somewhat worked up by the sculptor. But the work is executed with drive, powerful feeling, and sense of monumentality.

III

Manifestations of the Chavín culture have been discovered to date in six or eight of the transverse valleys of the coast. With one or two exceptions, these coastal finds are of gold—the only metal known or worked at the time—of bone or shell, of pottery, of gourd, of modeled adobe clay or stucco; but not of carved stone as at the type-site. The coast for some reason just did not operate in stone, architecturally or sculpturally, in early or late times. But the stylistic similarities are so striking, in spite of minor local deviations, as to leave no doubt of Chavín affiliation and period for these discoveries in the coast region.

As we start in the North, we have in the valley of Chiclayo a carving on a great Strombus, or conch shell, which is Chavín-like; a pure Chavín-style design on a miniature cylindrical stone vase; and some gold plates and jewelry from a burial at Chongoyape.

Next, at the north edge of Chicama Valley, in the *quebrada* of Cupisnique among the barren foothills, there were found fragments of a dark, hard, smooth, ringing pottery very similar in ware and texture, in incising and modeling, to the fragmentary pottery known from Chavín proper. Then, finally, in Chicama itself, this same pottery turned up—but now whole, as it had been set away with bodies in the grave. Here we have at last the origin of the stirrup-mouth ware—two tubes rising from the body of the pot to unite and end in a single narrow spout. This form was to endure on the northern coast all through native history; the later Mochica people made it, the still later Inca-period Chimú made it; the invention was by the Chavín-date Cupisnique potters. Their uncolored ceramic ware is polished like stone. It is surprisingly thin and lightweight, but its shapes suggest massive weight. Its forms, its flow of plane surfaces, its dark, smooth texture, its incised designs all point to a derivation from stone, to a subsequent transfer to a clay medium. The modeling with its symbolism, its preoccupation with flowing mouth, curved fang, and heavy eye, with the grand and the monstrous, is thoroughly Chavín-like. Especially remarkable is a famous stirrup-mouth head in the Larco Museum. In this,

the right half of the face is modeled in pure Chavín god-feline stylization—fangs, drooping mouth, heavy rectangular eye. The left half of the face is human, also stylized but much less so, and almost realistic. The potter-sculptor who moulded this head was conscious of two cult aspects; but he was also conscious of two co-existent strains of plactic expression. Chavín sculpture and Cupisnique modeling could perhaps have evolved a notable realistically representative art: they evidently possessed the necessary control and faculty. But they preferred to proceed symbolically and decoratively.

Next to the south, in the little coastal valley of Nepeña, there is a temple-terrace of conical handmade adobe bricks at Puncurí, containing a clay figure or idol with the fangs and full monstrosity of Chavín divinity at its extremest. Near-by, in the adobe ruins of Cerro Blanco, the foundations are coated with stucco designs in red and yellow, in wholly decorative manner of Chavín.

Casma, the next valley, has more architectural modeling in clay in the pyramid of Mojeque: flowing serpents falling from above, their forked tongues playing, their eyes lidded.

Also in Casma is Sechín, a low terrace fronted by twenty-one rough-hewn or natural upright slabs carved on their faces with outline figures of victorious warriors alternating with their despoiled captives or victims, or piles of trophy heads and backbones. Interspersed among these are about forty-two more or less square slabs, each bearing the outline of a human head in profile: eye closed, lips shrunken back, locks lifted into a handhold for the victor who might carry away the ghastly trophy. Most of the figures at Sechín are life-size or more. The manner is that of Chavín but modified. The surcharged symbolism of divinity, of the full Chavín style, of the monster god able to annihilate, is lacking here at Sechín. What we have represented in this slab frieze is the story of a tribal victory over an enemy tribe, with spoils of head trophies and prisoners.

Still to the south, at Supe, and at Ancón almost by Lima, Max Uhle long ago discovered some early cemeteries set wholly apart from the prevailing ones of Tiahuanaco to Inca period, which it had been customary for local residents to rifle in the hope of silver and gold, or at least mummies dressed in embroideries and surrounded by painted ceramics. The early cemeteries seemed to Uhle like those of poverty-stricken fishermen. We now know that their plain, dark, incised, smooth-textured pottery is almost a replica of that at the type-site at Chavín; that they grew corn and farmed, and sacrificed llamas from the interior, and that they had a little gold. And a palette of bone, with the profile of a crab god carved on it, who bears across his body a curved mouth and flaring fang teeth, evidences that these central coast primitives of Supe and Ancón were also under the stylistic influence of Chavín.

The farthest south to date of the discoveries of irradiations of Chavín culture are at the famous site of Paracas near Pisco, and at Ocucaje inland in the valley of Ica. At Paracas, on a barren coast, without water or

farmland within miles, there lie juxtaposed two of the most famous prehistoric cemeteries of Peru. Cavernas is so named from its great hollowed tombs; Necropolis is noted for its mummies swathed and reswathed in yards of fine cloth and gauzes bearing the most sumptuous embroideries of figures of gods, demons, and masked men, until the seated mummy had become a great pack or bundle. These are the renowned Paracas mantles, one of the textile wonders of the world for magnificence and technical skill. The figures on them have some suggestion of Chavín style, but lack many of its characteristic criteria; and they carry at least equal resemblance to the style of Nazca, which developed near-by and which we are soon to encounter. It is, therefore, possible that these Paracas-Necropolis textiles represent a double derivation from Chavín and Nazca and are somewhat later than the Paracas-Cavernas burials.

And these Paracas-Cavernas graves, while their weaving is less fine, contain a pottery ware that leaves no doubt as to the connection of some of its motives and designs with Chavín. We are back among the fangs, the great mouths, the eccentric-pupilled eyes—all the stigmata; and the base ware is again dark, hard, smooth-textured, often incised. Since 1942, the same pottery has been found also at Ocucaje; plus additions like calabashes incised by pyrography; and collections of rear ends of human heads in one tomb, their fronts in another—rudely hacked into halves and then stored in heaps in some great man's grave. Their own skulls the Paracas-Cavernas people flattened in infancy by depressing the forehead, whereas the Necropolis population in contrast compressed their heads to an extraordinary narrowness and length. The difference between these two ancient peoples, who buried at Paracas barely two hundred yards apart, is astonishing, and their relation remains a mystery. Thus the Cavernas mummies frequently have enormous holes trephined into their skulls, sometimes living to repeat or even re-repeat the operation; they furnish perhaps the most extreme example of this custom for which Peru has long been conspicuous. But the Necropolis mummies in their fine embroideries were trephined only occasionally.

IV

We now leave the Archaic, or most ancient, period of native civilization as exemplified by Chavín and its influences, and proceed to examine some of the local florescences that followed. For several centuries after Chavín, it would seem, activities were provincially limited instead of pan-Peruvian. But among these provincial growths are some notable developments, such as the ceramic products of Nazca and of the Mochica.

Nazca is somewhat south of Paracas: an inland coastal valley. Here, probably subsequent to Chavín, but at an early time as witnessed by gold still being the only metal, and not much of that, and adobe bricks being hand-wiped, there grew up a pottery art which for fineness of paste and especially for riot and brilliance of color is unrivalled. The shapes are simple; most characteristic is the double-spout jar—completely enclosed ex-

cept for two little tubes connected by a bit of bridge-handle. The designs at first—in the period called Nazca A—were representative mostly of animals or trophy heads, sometimes almost realistic; the colors still somewhat somber. Then, in Nazca B, the colors brighten up, increase in number, there are more human representations, darting rays surround them, heads get multiplied until in the final stage, Nazca Y, the style becomes overloaded, hasty, and breaks down into meaninglessness of form.

Even before the Nazca periods, during Chavín times as at Paracas, there appear occasional bowl-shaped vessels painted negatively—that is by reversing a pattern, probably by means of a coating of wax, much as in the batík cloth of the East Indies. This technique has now been found also in central Peru, always in the low levels, as at the famous temple of the Sun at Pachacamac, a half hour's drive south of Lima. On the northern coast, the negative remains are more abundant, so as to seem to have constituted not only a strain, or ware, but an independent art and culture. This becomes still more important in the one longitudinal coastal valley of Peru—all others are transverse—the famous Callejón de Huaylas. Here there once flourished the culture of Recuay, whose distinctive pottery has long been known, though it is only in the last few years that preliminary excavations have begun to give us knowledge of the total culture and its stone structures. The Recuay ceramics are well characterized: partly by abundant small-figure modeling, partly by highly stylized, peculiarly angular designs of cats or dragons, often seated, and executed in negative painting. The exact place of Recuay in the total scheme of Peruvian prehistory is not yet wholly clear; but it is post-Chavín and probably early post-Chavín.

Another mannerism which spread widely in the general era was the habit of painting white designs on red ceramic ware. This device will apparently serve as another horizon marker or period indicator. On the northern coast, the recently discovered Salinar culture belongs in this phase. This may be described as a preliminary or formative stage of a much greater development, the Mochica culture of the northern coast.

This Mochica culture, formerly also called proto-Chimú, was highly localized. It was confined to four or five little valleys. In it there grew up what is easily the most naturalistic art ever developed anywhere in pre-Columbian South America. The culture was advanced in other ways too; gold and copper and alloys of them, occasionally silver also, were mined, smelted, cast in wax or in molds into ornaments and jewelry of restrained taste. Enormous pyramids dotted the landscape; these were reared of tens and hundreds of million of large rectangular adobe bricks. Most famous of these is the great pyramid or temple of the Sun at Moche, visible from far out at sea. It is perhaps the largest construction ever erected in Peru. The adjacent Moon pyramid is smaller, but remnants of frescos give an idea of Mochica painting in a mood at once lifelike and playful in its fantastic imagination. The best preserved fragments represent battle scenes

from the imaginary day when the tools and implements of men revolted against their masters.

Mochica potters were de facto sculptors. They modeled, in clay, vessels of ordinary utensil size. The art is thus in a sense miniature plastic sculpture. There are no body-size representations; nor any accompanying stone carving. The heavy decorative treatment of Chavín is gone; so is the symbolic surcharge. Mochica modeling is secular and lifelike; it aims at actual appearance, and seizes this with felicity. Even where the subject is a bit gruesome or tragic by our standards, the touch is light. There is a fondness for the macabre—for the satiric—just as there is a minor strain of lewdness, of pornography, in the art; perhaps one-half of one per cent of the modeled pieces portray subjects which forbid their public exhibition in our museums. Characteristic form is above all what the Mochica ceramic sculptors aimed at, and what they achieved to an astonishing degree. It might be an animal, two or three persons in some typical activity, more often a single figure, frequently a head alone. Some of these life-size or near-life-size heads are remarkably realistic: they suggest portraits. Whether they are true portraits in our modern sense, in that they aim to bring out the specific idiosyncracy of a particular individual, or only in the Greek sense of being generalized likenesses of a type, their fidelity to nature is striking and was never again equalled in indigenous America, North or South, except by a few stone sculptures of the Guatemala-Yucatán Maya at the peak of their great era.

The Mochica also painted on their pottery, in outline only, in keeping with their inclination to aesthetic economy, to restraint of coloring and fewness of fundamental vessel shapes. These monochrome ceramic paintings are in the manner of their frescos: imaginative, light in touch, flowing in line, portraying rapidity of movement, sometimes vehemence.

V

Mochica art passed away on the northern coast as Nazca did on the southern; and several new and related arts arose in the interior highland where Peru and Bolivia adjoin. The most important of these is the cult or culture associated with Tiahuanaco on the Bolivian side of Lake Titicaca—and herewith we are back in one of our basic horizon-marking styles; since it succeeded in spreading over most of Peru as Chavín had done perhaps a thousand years earlier. There were certain styles in this southern highland that remained local: one at the north end of Titicaca lake, for instance, known from stele carved geometrically or in fish designs. North of this, there flourished for a time the style of Pucara, from which we possess a few stelae and a beautiful pottery, one of the few Peruvian wares that are both well painted and well modeled. And, from around the latitude of Cuzco but less far inland, in Apurímac drainage, there are a few stray vessels in a striking style suggestive of the transfer of the woodcarver's art to ceramics.

Among these several sister highland cultures, Tiahuanaco was the one that became important and that spread. There may or may not have been a Tiahuanaco empire. There certainly was a pervasive diffusion, more or less accompanied by force, of a social wave carrying with it elements of Tiahuanaco culture as far as northern Peru on the one hand and northern Argentina on the other. This is evidenced by a closely-knit style expressed in stone sculpture and architecture, in metallurgy, in ceramics and textiles.

The sculpture consists of relief carving on beautifully finished plane surfaces of monoliths used architecturally, and of three-dimensional statues. The relief figures are stiff, angular, schematic, but grandiose. They might have been copied from large, solemn tapestry designs. The statues tend to be squarish and super-life-size human figures, even stiffer than the reliefs. They are really large four-sided prisms, slightly cut away to suggest the human form. Nowhere has the body really freed itself from the block of stone; yet the carving carries a quality of grandeur.

Characteristics of Tiahuanaco sculpture are: eyes round, octagonal or square; a tear streak or line of tear drops down the cheek; mouth, a wide rectangle or oval, often with two rows of even teeth showing. There are no projecting tusks or fangs, but the canine teeth are indicated by a curious device of a square with one diagonal through it—a sort of schematic indication of the idea of pointed teeth, rather than a picture of how they actually look. This is typical of Tiahuanaco style throughout; it deals essentially with formalized ideas; but it combines these skillfully into a unified whole. Rays emanate from the heads of divinities: these rays may end in serpent, condor, or jaguar heads. The arms extend rigidly, and often hold staves of living snakes. Blunt, square nails terminate the fingers and toes. There may be a snake belt, or a skirt of snakes. The human, jaguar, and condor form are variously combined: condor-headed felines, winged humans, and so on.

As compared with Chavín, the Tiahuanaco style is free of the element of the monstrous: it does not aim to terrrify. Its combinations of cats, birds, snakes, and men are like Greek and Oriental chimaeras and sphinxes: they are aesthetically novel and interesting rather than emphasizing the horrible. The limitation of the style is its stiffness, its primary adhesion to the straight line, the preference for chords over arcs. This tendency adapts it both to architectural and to textile use. It is also the expression of a quality of severity which is the fundamental psychological quality of the art.

There is no movement in the Tiahuanaco figures, nor any sense of flowing curves. The eye is made into a formal element in an architectonic composition; in profile, the eye is often set near the center of the head. The effect of its simple square or circle is a blank stare, as compared with the slumberous expression of the curve-lidded Chavín eye. Compare similarly the simple, uninteresting, square nails of Tiahuanaco with the beautifully sweeping and retracted claws of Chavín; or the diagonally bisected quadrilateral Tiahuanaco teeth with the great protruding Chavín fangs. The

Chavín sculptor felt his forms with his tactile imagination; the Tiahuanaco carver thought his out. In detail, his shapes are unimaginative. But he combines them into a unified whole which through sheer organization is effective as a mass. By contrast, his Chavín predecessor is so interested in the forms of his detail, he riots so imaginatively in its creeping and sliding lines, that he loses sight of the total effect; and we too tend to be lost and bewildered. Plastically, Chavín is the greater art, though it never did achieve all its potentialities. Tiahuanaco was idea-dominated; it realized its more limited and definite aims. It applied both to sculpture and painting, and thoroughly achieved a stiffly architectural severity.

No ancient cloth has been preserved in the dampish highland climate of the shores of Titicaca; but so strong was the impress of the Tiahuanaco style that thousands of tapestries and other textiles in pure Tiahuanaco manner have been recovered from graves along the rainless Peruvian lowland. When they are not immediate Tiahuanaco, they are what it has become customary to label as Epigonal—derivative Tiahuanaco.

Tiahuanaco pottery does occur in the homeland; and a noble ware it is: massive, simple, effective in design, well burnished in finish. Even greater quantities have been found on the coast. These are sometimes less finished, sometimes equally fine; and wherever they occur, they show the same insignia: the round eye, the tear line, the diagonal teeth, the square nails, the stiff short arms, the rays and scepters, sometimes the condor wings and beaks, or a jaguar head.

In stratigraphic excavations at Tiahuanaco, Bennett was able to distinguish an Early, a Classic, and a Decadent Tiahuanaco pottery style. The Classic shows most fully the traits that have been enumerated. The Early is on the one hand clearly a sort of formative phase of the Classic, as it ought to be; on the other, it has some of the earmarks of being also the worn-down, deteriorated end-product of some earlier style, as yet unknown. This is too intricate a matter to follow up in a general context like the present review. But it offers a glimpse at one of many opportunities of discovery that await not only the spade of the archeologist but the insight of the art historian in ancient Peru.

VI

Wherever along the coast Tiahuanaco type remains are found, there are also suggestions of disturbance and upheaval. Previous styles are shattered and pass away. How far there was subjugation and empire, or a settled feudal overloard caste, or raiding and plundering, we do not yet know. There do not seem to have been any great cities on the coast in Tiahuanaco times, either of natives of old local stock or of highland invaders.

When quiet was once more restored, and large towns grew up with large graveyards, Tiahuanaco mannerisms were ebbing away, and new local styles emerging. One of these is that of Ica and Chincha, in the south,

where the Nazca culture had once prevailed. Ica pottery is sober and restrained, the design non-representational, with a suggestion of textile effect. In fact, clothing from the same graves does bear similar designs of rows of very much simplified birds or geometrical fishes. Another strain of ceramic ware is smoked black, plain but burnished, and depending for its appeal on the good taste of its profile form. Metal has become abundant by now—we are around 1200–1400 A.D.—gold, silver, copper, perhaps bronze. This is also the age of the balance for weighing; of the counting and recording device of knotted strings known as the *quipu;* of great pyramids of adobe bricks like those of the earlier Mochica in the north; and of large palaces and compounds, like Tambo Colorado in Pisco Valley.

On this arid southern coast, the Nazca culture had painted its pottery with up to seven and eight pigments. Then Tiahuanaco used, at its best, five and six colors, four for ordinary ware. The Ica style began with a four-color scheme, but, as it progressed, it retracted to three. Somewhat to the north, around Lima, Chancay, and Huacho, the reduction was carried to two: black on white, with loss of earlier red. This localized late ware—which evidently persisted until the Spaniards came—is poor technologically and sloppy in ornamentation. But it has two qualities that are rare in old Peru: a light, sketchy, experimental touch in its painted geometric designs; and an occasional deliberate asymmetry of overall pattern. Neither feature is very important; but their joint occurrence in this limited provincial style suggests that art might have deteriorated but had not yet lost all impulse to originality.

Along the northern coast, in these late centuries before arrival of the Spaniards, there stretched the realm of the Chimú with capital at Chanchán, perhaps the largest pre-Columbian city whose ruins still mostly stand—almost within walking distance of Trujillo. Over the valleys where once the Mochica had modeled their life-like pots, and for half a dozen farther valleys beyond to the north, the metropolitan Chimú civilization now extended its endless adobe walls and adobe temple pyramids—often piled up from plano-convex mud bricks recalling those of Pre-Sargonid Mesopotamia 4000 years earlier. Palaces and public buildings had their faces decorated with geometric relief arabesque. Metal had become exceedingly abundant—copper, true bronze, silver, and gold; everything but iron; even farm tools were now often made of metal. The ceramics showed a recrudescence of the previous local Mochica shapes like the stirrup-mouth and of figure modeling, alongside a taking-over of forms that had been imported in the Tiahuanaco times, such as the double-spout-with-bridge. The style is eclectic, easy-going, receptive, facile; it is lacking in originality, in imagination, and in feeling and drive. Anything is grist to its mill. It tries experiments with external novelties from lack of inner urges of its own. It overloads with ornateness in good Victorian and Second Empire manner. Like these eras, Late Chimú was evidently a period of more widespread middle class prosperity and show than of intrinsic taste.

VII

Less than a century before Pizarro, apparently, this north coast Chimú kingdom was incorporated into the growing Inca empire, which was reaching out from its "navel" at Cuzco through and beyond Peru into Ecuador and Chile. In contrast with the flaccid Chimú, the Inca had developed a simple, severe, restrained style in pottery, metal work, stone-carving, and architecture. Their manner appeals as truly "classic" in its self-discipline. It is no accident that the most characteristic Inca-vessel-shaped, a point-bottom jar with flaring lip and handles, has come to be named *aryballos* after a Greek prototype. The two shapes are not identical; but they are suffused with the same spirit of chastity or control of form. Other Inca ceramic shapes evince similar restraints. They appeal to us readily as free from "barbaric" ingredient, and as kindred in form to vessels in our own civilization.

Inca metal work is also pleasingly simple: on the one hand goblet; on the other, little images of humans or llamas notable for the flowing planes of their smooth surfaces. A feeling for surface and texture is also evident in the stone work of the Incas, equally whether this be a carved bowl or a throne emplacement or observatory cut into the bedrock. Their architecture, similarly, shows less interest in design than in masonry—the physical handling of stone with lingering love. This holds for famous polygonal stones still embedded in Cuzco walls; for the gigantic blocks of the fortress of Sacsahuaman: the towering ruins of the frontier-guarding town of Machu Picchu: or the noble, even ashlar façade at Pisac.

The Incas were a ruling people by history and training; and they ruled their art, as they did their subjects, with strictness, justice, and dignity.

Such in outline is the varied story of the rise and fall, the change and succession, of Peruvian native culture and art in the fifteen hundred or more years of indigenous development before Columbus, as the exploration and analysis of anthropologists reveal it to date. With just one reservation: that for every discovery or finding yet made, the future should bring several times as many new ones.

FIG. 1. Monumental sculpture from Chavín. An archaic art, verging toward the terrible; in this example it expresses repose.

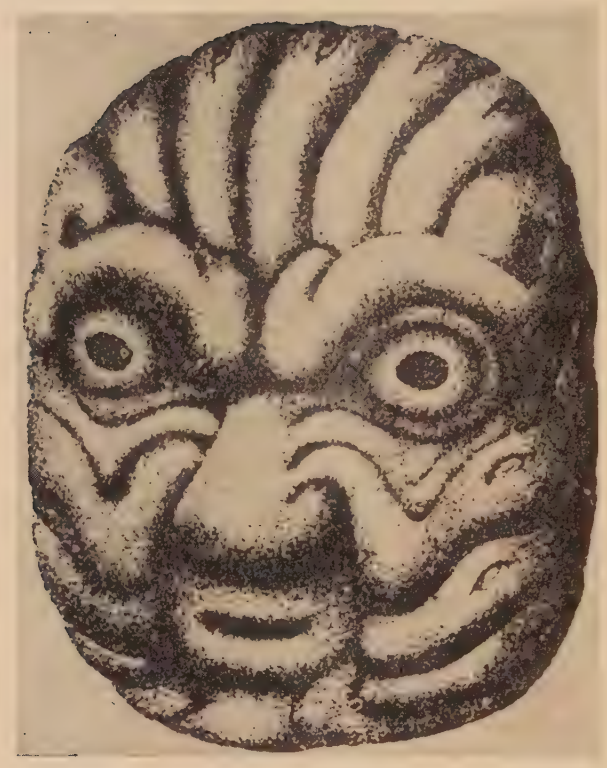

FIG. 2. Monster head from Chavín. The furrows are also snakes—note their eyes.

FIG. 3. Repoussé gold from Chongoyape. Style of Chavín, the monstrous aspects again to the fore.

FIG. 4. Gold ear ornament, Chavín style, decoratively formal lines.

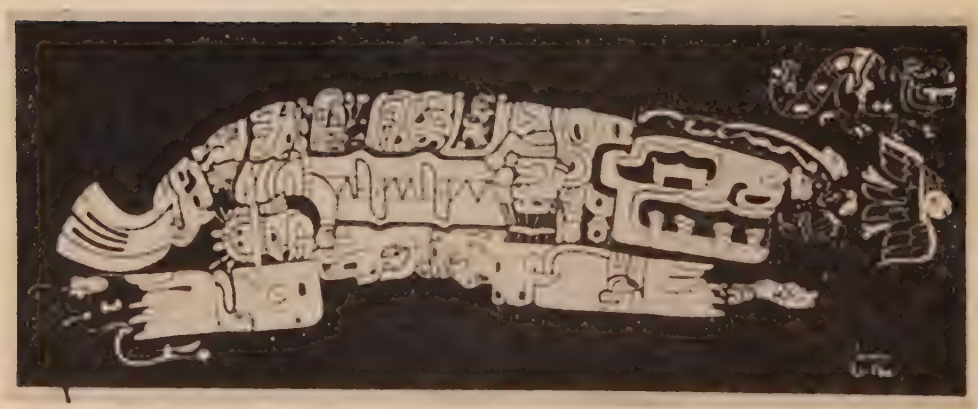

FIG. 5. The Obelisk at Chavín—monster carved on one face. Highly charged symbolically and profound decoratively.

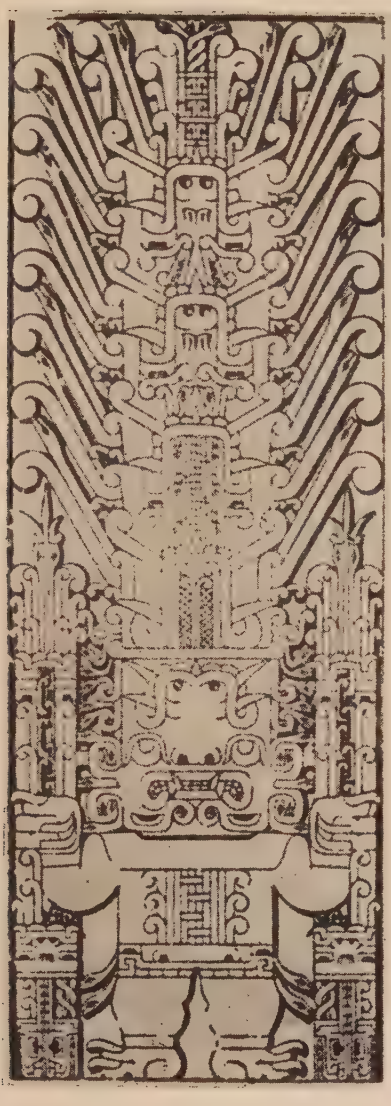

FIG. 6. Raimondi stela from Chavín—first discovered example of this art.

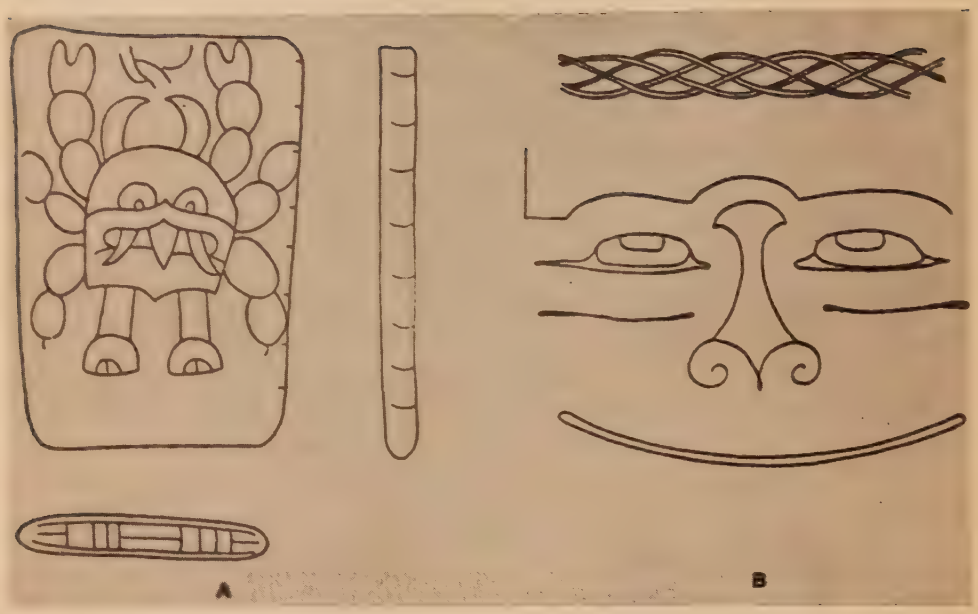

FIG. 7. Incisings in the style of Chavín. From Supe (A) and Ocucaje (B).

FIG. 8. Mochica vase painting: god in litter, and winged litter. The movement is typical.

FIG. 9. Mochica, from a vase. Ritual procession of insect and bird impersonators, characteristically vehement in expression.

FIG. 10. Recuay. Sacred feathered feline.

FIG. 11. Art of the southern coastal desert. Embroidery designs from Paracas mantles. Related figures were painted on Nazca jars.

FIG. 12. Design degeneration and proliferation in late Nazca polychrome pottery ornament.

FIG. 13. Tiabuanaco stone relief. Note eyes, tear-streaks, scepters, rays around head, and textile-type symmetry and pattern.

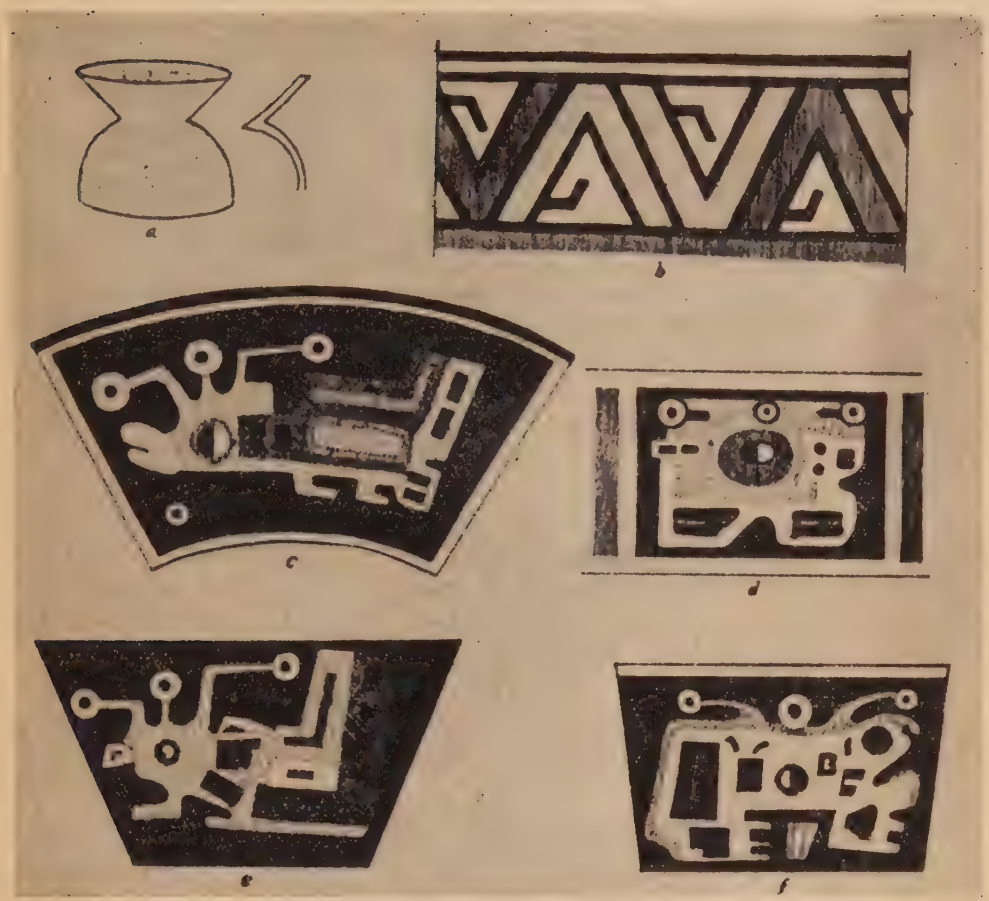

FIG. 14. Tiabuanaco pottery designs. Although from the early phase of Tiabuanaco, they suggest stylistic wearing down from an earlier art.

CIVILIZING THE CHICHIMECS: A CHAPTER IN THE CULTURE HISTORY OF ANCIENT MEXICO

PAUL KIRCHHOFF

Professor, Escuela Nacional de Antropología, Mexico, D.F.

Many early sources, above all those that were written by natives who had learned to write their own language in the European alphabet, deal rather extensively with a series of historical events, ranging over a period of several centuries before the coming of the Spaniards, that relate to the interplay between two strikingly different kinds of peoples—the sedentary, advanced peoples of Mesoamerican culture, and certain nomadic, backward peoples, the so-called Chichimecs, whose culture may be considered part of the simpler layer in what has been called the "Greater Southwest" or "Arid North America." In classical terminology, the former represent civilization, the latter savagery.

Among the richest of these sources are the *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca;* Alva Ixtlilxochitl; Chimalpahin; the *Anales de Quauhtitlan;* Muñoz Camargo's, *Historia de Tlaxcala;* and the *Relación de Michoacán.* All of these, based on historical traditions that had been handed down from generation to generation, usually in pictographic records, actually make this interplay between "Mesoamericans" and "Chichimecs" the center of their interest. Their writers, as a matter of fact, were descendants of Chichimecs who had become Mesoamericans, or to put it differently, of savages who had become civilized.

The data contained in these sources may be used statically for the purpose of reconstructing the culture of both Mesoamericans and Chichimecs as it was at the time when they first met, but it seems to us that their principal value lies in the light they shed on certain historical *processes,* both indirectly on those which, on either side, paved the way to this interplay between peoples of high and low culture, and directly on those that grew out of their association.

An analysis of these historical processes may be undertaken from the viewpoint of the general problem of what happens when peoples of different cultural levels meet. But it should also be of importance for a deeper understanding and appreciation of Mesoamerican civilization, i.e., of the culture whose bearers succeeded in assimilating one group of Chichimecs after another.

Let us consider briefly what our Mexican data may contribute to the elucidation of both problems.

From the moment that one of the greatest discoveries made by man, the domestication of plants and animals, became the basis for a totally new stage in the history of culture, peoples representing the old and the new way of life must have met again and again. Hundreds and hundreds of peoples who still were mere "takers" of food must have learned how to

raise crops, not by making this discovery all over again, but by learning its application, first from those who had reached this stage by their own effort, later from their first pupils who by now had themselves become teachers of the new art and all that went with it, and still later, from the pupils of these pupils, and so on in a never-ending chain.

The occurrence of the earlier of these momentous encounters that spread the new way of life from tribe to tribe, we can only postulate; and when we speak here of "earlier" encounters, we refer not only to those that took place in the remote past but to all those cases, even though many of them may be chronologically relatively recent, in which the representatives of the new stage were themselves still rather simple farmers or herders. And as much as we may speculate about the concrete form that those hypothetical encounters between food-takers and the simpler food-raisers may have taken, we shall never be able to say anything very definite about the concrete historical processes that were involved. Above all, we cannot answer the question of whether the new mode of life simply served as an example that was imitated, or whether it was actually taught.

It is only when and where the food-raising peoples (specifically farmers) reach still another, very much more advanced and complex stage which we call civilization, that we can learn something of the actual processes by which the new discovery—by now really no longer new—spreads to peoples who are still without its benefits. One of the many advances achieved by civilization, the art of writing, when applied to the recording of important events, gives us this opportunity.

The historical records of all the earlier civilizations of the Old World seem to contain important data on their relations with less advanced peoples. But it is only exceptionally a question of relations with mere food-taking peoples. The Chinese chronicles, which deal so fully with the relations between the civilized farmers of China and the barbaric herdsmen and farmers to the north, west, and south, are a case in point.

Only in the New World, and here only in ancient Mexico, do we find sources that for a considerable span of time deal with the relations between civilized farmers (less civilized, it is true, than those of China and other Old World civilizations) and savage, roaming food-takers. These sources are, therefore, of unusual importance for the student of the history of culture, and it is surprising to notice how little they have been utilized until now for the study of acculturation processes.

Fortunately the data contained in these sources are full and detailed enough to permit us to answer here the question which had to be left unanswered for those "earlier" cases of relations between food-raising and food-taking peoples of which we spoke above. We are referring to the question of whether the advance of the food-takers to a higher level of culture came about essentially through imitation of what they saw, or whether actual teaching was involved. In the case of ancient Mexico there can be no doubt whatsoever about this point. In most, if not in all

cases, the Chichimecs whom we are referring to, were actually *taught* the new ways of life by the civilized Indians of Mesoamerica. But more than that, in many cases the latter seem actually to have gone out to look for more Chichimecs to whom they could teach their own, so much higher way of living—not, of course, because they were so much in love with their own culture that in a missionary spirit they tried to teach it to others, but because in a period of cultural crisis they needed new human elements to help them carry on the multiple and complex cultural activities to which they, as civilized peoples, were accustomed, and whose continuation required the repletion of their decimated ranks.

In their attempt to civilize the Chichimecs, the Indians of Mesoamerica were, on the whole, singularly successful. The overwhelming majority of the tribes of mere food-takers on whom they went to work, changed in a surprisingly short lapse of time from a condition of savagery to that of civilization, so that after but few generations we find the descendants of peoples who, as our sources vividly and dramatically tell us, acted "like drunk" when given their first meal prepared of maize, living a life of civilized people, farmers or city-dwellers, and carrying on the complex activities that characterize a civilization as rich as that of Mesoamerica.

These peoples actually jumped one stage, by going directly from savagery to civilization.

While this rapid conversion goes to show what even very backward peoples are capable of, if only given proper guidance, it also does great credit to the peoples of Mesoamerica, who proved themselves equal to the task of lifting those savages so rapidly to a so much higher level of culture.

It seems to us that the capacity of any given culture to act as a civilizing force in its relations with more backward peoples is one of the most significant traits that we have to consider if we want to arrive at a correct evaluation of the place that a culture occupies in human development. Its civilizing role may be seen, on the one hand, in its geographical spread to, or partial influence upon, regions and peoples beyond its original realm; and, on the other, in the assimilation of immigrating or invading peoples. The spread of Mesoamerican culture to regions and peoples beyond the area where it first developed and held sway, can be reconstructed only by means of the archaeological record and the comparison of the culture of Mesoamerica and of those peoples that seem to have come under its influence. None of the native chronicles refer to it.

All that our sources tell us is the way in which the Indians of Mesoamerica civilized those Chichimecs who settled, or whom they settled, in their midst. While it is true, of course, that these data shed no light on what Mesoamerican civilization did or did not achieve (or attempt) beyond its geographical boundaries, they are, nevertheless, of the very greatest importance for our evaluation of the power behind a culture that could make wild Chichimecs over into civilized Mesoamericans and

then utilize these new converts to save their own culture from the crisis in the throes of which it found itself—a crisis, by the way, whose nature and causes are still very imperfectly understood.

What seems to us even more impressive and significant is the fact that their work was so thorough that their proselytes very rapidly turned into missionaries so efficient that from a certain moment forward the main burden of winning new groups of Chichimecs over to Mesoamerican civilization, almost completely fell to them, who from a position of pupils had advanced to that of teachers.

During the last eight or so centuries before the coming of the Spaniards, the history of Mesoamerica, at least in that part of it which lies north of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, was dominated by one central theme: the relationship between the representatives of Mesoamerican civilization and Chichimec savagery. Our sources, while using the term Chichimecs, do not, of course, use the other term, Mesoamericans, which is a modern, anthropological term. They speak instead of Toltecs. To them, the Toltecs are the representatives of what we call today Mesoamerican civilization, or rather, of a recent phase of that civilization—the only one with which our sources show familiarity.

The stage seems set then, with the Toltecs and the Chichimecs as the principal actors in our drama. But unfortunately the use of these two terms in our sources is very far from being clear or consistent. Let us mention some of these inconsistencies and often flagrant contradictions.

First of all, these two names were used both as designations of particular peoples and of whole classes of peoples. From some sources at least it would appear that the term "Chichimecs," which was principally used to designate a certain class or type of peoples, was also that of a particular people or at least of a particular group of closely related peoples. The term "Toltecs" certainly was used both as the name of an individual people (the Toltecs of Tollan, or Tula) and as that of a whole class of peoples, those who were considered to represent most typically the recent form of Mesoamerican civilization. In this classificatory sense the Olmecs were considered Toltecs, and the Toltecs of Tula Chichimecs!

When used to designate a whole class or type of peoples, the term "Toltecs" always referred to civilized Mesoamericans, but the term Chichimecs was used not only for savage food-takers (who lived in the north) but also for simpler farming peoples (because they also lived in the north[1]), or for two very different classes of civilized Mesoamericans—those whose forefathers had themselves been mere food-takers (and as such had lived in the north), and those who, at some time in their history when they already were civilized Mesoamericans, had migrated to the north, or more accurately, to the northwest, from which region later

[1]The Spaniards added another connotation, that of "wild, i.e., hostile" Indians (of the north).

on they had returned, accompanied by Chichimecs in the sense of mere food-gatherers or possibly, in some cases, simpler farming peoples.

What all these different and conflicting meanings of the word Chichimec had in common was the fact that they connected the peoples thus designated with the north. When applied to peoples living in Mesoamerica, the use of this term stressed the fact that they had *arrived* there, but here again we find a significant duplicity of meaning. When used in reference to those few tribes that even after their arrival in Mesoamerica had remained food-gatherers, it had the somewhat contemptuous meaning of "mere Chichimecs." But those who "had arrived," not only in the geographical but also the cultural sense, never tried to hide the fact that they were newcomers, both in Mesoamerica and in the category of civilized peoples; on the contrary they proudly called themselves and others in the same situation "Chichimecs." Both the Toltecs of Tula and the Aztecs of Mexico, to mention only one example each for early and late arrivals, proudly proclaimed themselves Chichimecs. But with equal, if not greater pride, they called themselves Toltecs, or Colhua (an alternative name used by the Toltecs of Tula).

There was, of course, a specific historical reason for the pride with which some of these former food-gatherers, who had become civilized Mesoamericans, insisted on their being "Chichimecs." The reason was that they had become the *politically* dominant element in the northern part of Mesoamerica and even farther south, precisely because they were newcomers who, young, virile, and numerically strong, had been able to take advantage of the difficult and in part truly chaotic situation in which their hosts found themselves.

It goes without saying that no grouping of peoples in which all belong either to one or other of but two classes can possibly avoid confusion and contradictions. Even in the simplest of situations there must be border cases that belong to neither class, or to both. And the situations we are dealing with here are anything but simple. A twofold classification may have been in place at the time Toltec teachers and Chichimec pupils first met. But as soon as the first pupils had themselves become the teachers of new groups of Chichimecs, the question must have arisen: should these erstwhile pupils who had turned into teachers be classed as Chichimecs or as Toltecs? And if they were to be classed as Toltecs, what about their pupils, once they in turn had undergone the same transformation?

In order to designate any one of these peoples who had something of the Chichimec and something of the Toltec, as of one class or other, one of a great number of possible criteria had to be selected to the exclusion of all others. That selection inevitably was ethnocentric, that is, it depended on whether the speakers considered themselves Toltecs or Chichimecs. They could base their characterization of a given people on its present or on its past condition. If they selected the present, and if the people concerned were composed of two or more separate elements,

of different language or culture or political history, living together, they could choose any one of these elements among that people as the basis for its characterization, and for any number of reasons: numerical, cultural, or political dominance or preponderance, or, again ethnocentrically, ethnic or political linkage with themselves.

If, on the other hand, they selected as their basis of classification the past of those to be characterized, they might think of their earliest history as they knew it, when they either were still "mere Chichimecs" in the north, or, on the contrary, "Toltecs" in Mesoamerica; or they might think of a somewhat later, intermediate stage, when the former had already ceased to be food-takers, or when the latter had migrated to the north, "the land of the Chichimecs."

Even to speak simply of an ethnocentric characterization and classification of other peoples is not adequate, because in all peoples of heterogeneous composition (which, after all, seems to have been the rule rather than the exception in Mesoamerica), different and conflicting views of who should be considered a Toltec and who a Chichimec, might be held by different sectors of the population.

The detailed study of the reasons why specific peoples were called (or called themselves) Toltecs or Chichimecs or both, is a task for the future. All we have attempted here is to indicate some of the complexities involved in the conflicting classifications of peoples given by various native sources. We have tried to show that these contradictions and this confusion in classification reflect a series of contradictory and confused situations in actual life; and that the way to an understanding of the complexities of the history of Toltec-Chichimec relations, in which civilized Indians proudly called themselves Chichimecs, will be open only if and when we have understood the principles involved in these classifications and the reasons, both generic and specific, for the apparent confusions and contradictions.

The foregoing observations, which we consider as nothing more than an introduction to the study of one of the most fascinating chapters in the culture history of ancient Mexico, we hope may serve to remove some of those stumbling blocks that in the past seem to have deterred the student of acculturation processes from making use of the rich data provided by our Mexican sources.